

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LVII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

This is another mixed volume of literary and documentary texts. The literary section is entirely by Dr M. W. Haslam, but falls into two parts, one containing fragments of new lyric poetry with the characteristics of Stesichorus (3876), the other with twenty-five fragmentary texts of Thucydides, all those of the first four books so far recognized in the collection (3877-3901). The documents (3902-14) are the work of Drs H. El-Maghrabi and J. D. Thomas. They were first edited by Dr El-Maghrabi for a PhD thesis in the University of Durham under the supervision of Dr Thomas and it is Dr Thomas who has revised the thesis form to suit our conventions and brought it up to date. Nine of them (3902-10) form a substantial group, unified by their connection with the official government issue of seed-corn for the cultivation of 'royal' land in Roman Egypt.

Dr Haslam compiled the word index to 3876, and Dr Thomas has performed the same service for the documents.

Although this is only the second of our volumes to be printed by H. Charlesworth & Co., we already tend to take them for granted, which is a tribute to the speed and smoothness of their work. We are most grateful to them.

August 1990

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262-9. It may be summarized as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| $\alpha\beta\gamma$ | The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read |
| ... | Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor |
| [$\alpha\beta\gamma$] | The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture |
| [...] | Approximately three letters are lost |
| () | Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$) represents the symbol τ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$ |
| [[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]] | The letters are deleted in the papyrus |
| ' $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ' | The letters are added above the line |
| < $\alpha\beta\gamma$ > | The letters are added by the editor |
| { $\alpha\beta\gamma$ } | The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor |

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition, (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

'RECTO' AND 'VERSO'

Dr Haslam has contributed the following note on his usage in items **3876-3901**:

'The terms "recto" and "verso" are not used except (in deference to pre-papyrological tradition) with regard to codexes (whether of papyrus or of parchment), where they mean front and back respectively. For rolls and other forms of document the terms "front" and "back" are used, "front" designating the side used first (in the case of rolls the "inside"; in the absence of any statement to the contrary the writing is to be understood as being on the front); as applied to papyrus manuscripts these terms normally have as their objective correlative the direction of the writing vis-a-vis the direction of the fibres, since the side used for the primary text, at least in the case of literary rolls, was routinely that on which the fibres ran horizontal. Normally, then, "front" implies that the writing runs parallel with the fibres, and that the fibres run vertical on the back; wherever the correlation does not obtain, or might not, the fact is expressly noted; and judgment as to front and back is never made solely on the basis of the direction of the fibres. Arrows (\rightarrow , \downarrow) may be used to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the direction of the writing; but their use is not often called for except in the case of papyrus codexes.'

I. NEW LITERARY TEXT

3876. STESICHORUS, VARIOUS POEMS?

inv. nos. unrecorded

Second century

None of the following fragments, which were assembled by Mr Lobel, preserves a continuous run of text, but considerations of diction, dialect and metre point clearly if not irresistibly to Stesichorus as author of at least the more sizable among them, and I see nothing telling against the same assumption for them all. They all seem to be by the same hand, a small plain informal hand attributable to the second century; but the script shows a wide range of variation, and there are independent grounds for thinking that more than one poem is represented (see below); and I would suppose as many manuscripts as poems. There is no writing on the backs.

The use of paragraphus (fr. 11, 32, 48, 64, 66?, 76) and of coronis (fr. 42, 54, 65, 71) indicates triadic structure: presumably paragraphus between stanzas, coronis between triads, in accordance with the standard convention. (Cf. Heph., *π.σημ.* pp. 73-4C.; first exemplified in the Lille Stesichorus, 3rd cent. B.C.) But I have not succeeded in establishing any stanza length, nor in firmly identifying cases of metrical correspondence. On the question whether all the fragments may be referred to one and the same poem, the evidence of the stanza markers is not quite determinative. Fr. 48 shows that the last line of the strophe began $\cup\cup-$; this is incompatible with fr. 64, unless the paragraphus there is a component of a coronis; but then there is incompatibility with fr. 42, unless $\delta\alpha\chi\iota\lambda$ there scans $\cup\cup$ or $--[-$; which is not impossible. The fragments have certain metrical features in common. I find no line that demonstrably does not begin either dactylic or anapaestic (unless fr. 62. 6, but that is easily brought into conformity), and such lines as can be reconstructed appear to have been wholly in that rhythm; but single short syllables are evident in some clausulae; $\dots\cup\cup\cup\cup--|$ occurs, and is possibly to be recognized in every instance of line-final $\cup\cup--$ or $\cup\cup\cup$; only rarely does a single short syllable resist assignment to this clausula. But metrical differences among the fragments quickly assert themselves. Immediately discernible is the fact that some of the fragments (most obviously fr. 35) have a relatively high proportion of lines with a single short syllable in the clausula, while others (e.g. fr. 4 and 62) have no such lines. Given the extent of the individual fragments, that is not in itself decisive, but the evidence is cumulative, and suspicions are confirmed by the taller pieces, fr. 26 and 39. These, full of uncertainties though they are, manifest incompatibilities not reasonably to be accounted for on the hypothesis of a single poem. In fact I am reluctantly led to think that at least three poems must be represented.

Sorting them out is beyond me. The fragments came from Mr Lobel in four folders, A-D. I do not know whether or not this reflected purely his own sorting, but

it does correspond at least in part to palaeographical differences among the fragments, and with a few exceptions I have respected it in my own numeration. The pieces in folder A are here numbered fr. 1-25. Their script is small, neat, fluent and fairly regular; mu has curved legs, and alpha usually has its apex rounded; and there is little blurring, fading or rubbing. (This characterization does not fully apply to fr. 25, however, which is perhaps to be associated rather with some of the later fragments.) In the fragments of folder C, here numbered fr. 61-77 (except that I have imported fr. 63 from folder B), the script is more sloping and gives a generally stiffer impression; mu has its legs consistently straight, and alpha is usually pointed; many of the pieces have suffered abrasion, and the ink is often blurred. The fragments of folder B are palaeographically less homogeneous. Those with affinity with fr. 1-25, i.e. (to take the most salient characteristic) those in which mu is formed with curving legs (or which look as if it would have been, if that letter were represented), are here numbered 26-36, those with straight-sided mu are numbered 37-60 (except that fr. 43 is imported from folder C). The contents of folder D, only seven tiny fragments, are put last, as fr. 78-84; but their script is varied. If I am right in associating fr. 63 (from folder B) with fr. 62 (from folder C), and fr. 43 (from folder C) with fr. 42 (from folder B), it is clear that at least folders B and C should not be treated as mutually discrete, and the variation within folders B and D, and to a lesser extent within folder A, tells against separating the contents of any one folder from any other. There is some correlation between metre and script, but it cannot be charted with much definiteness.

The fragments defy trustworthy ascription to any particular poem or poems. In fr. 4 it seems someone has killed some lady's brothers; this suggests the Meleager story; so the *Boarhunters*? Fr. 62 gives us Aeolus' cousin and a corpse. One or two of the fragments doubtfully suggest the West (see at fr. 25, 35, 62, 74). There is nothing that clearly belongs to Trojan saga or to Theban. I have found no revealing conjunction with any extant Stesichorus. Some tentative suggestions are made in the commentary.

There is a sprinkling of new words, mostly compound adjectives (fr. 40. 12 *τριπαλαιγενής*?, fr. 62. 2 *νεκταρέοδος*?, 9 *ἐριδανός*?, cf. fr. 3. 4, fr. 35. 8, 14, fr. 64(a) 3). More importantly the fragments further illustrate the near-homeric characteristics of Stesichorean verse, which this is no place to go into.

The text is quite generously equipped with lectional aids, all by the first hand so far as is possible to tell; cf. XXXII 2617 (*Geryoneis*; early 1st cent.), contrast XXXII 2618 (*Eriphyle*; 1st cent.), 2619 (*Sack of Troy*; 2nd-3rd cent.). Accents are usefully applied. No certain cases of the expected 'doric' accentuation are in evidence (there are possible cases at fr. 11(b) 3, fr. 35. 15, fr. 41. 7 and fr. 61. 12, cf. the doubly accented *ὄπως* at fr. 2. 3), but no contrary cases either. There are occasional longs and shorts, a few breathings, initial trema with *ι* and *υ* (and in *αἶδος*, fr. 37. 1), a couple of apparent hyphens (fr. 35. 17, fr. 46. 4). Use of the apostrophe, on the other hand, is disdained (note esp. fr. 19. 2, fr. 62. 6): the sole instance, unless it is rather a diastole, is at fr. 51. 1. Stops are in middle to high position, without apparent differentiation.

The impression of a scholar's manuscript is strengthened by clear evidence that the text was collated. Variant readings have been entered, above the line (fr. 35. 1, 2, 14, cf. fr. 62. 4, 10) or in the margin (fr. 35. 15, fr. 39. 27?, 29, 30, fr. 62. 8, fr. 67. 10, cf. fr. 6(b) 2, fr. 12. 2, fr. 26. 19, 32, fr. 42(a) 4, fr. 43 i 5). Some if not all of these appear to have been added by the copyist himself, writing somewhat smaller; for this phenomenon cf. e.g. V 841 (Pind. *Paeans*). Twice the name of Ptolemy is attached (fr. 39. 30, fr. 70. 3), though here I am less sure that the hand is the copyist's. It seems to be he who is responsible for a couple of apparent adjustments to the colometry (fr. 38. 4, fr. 42(c) 6). And the text was marked up with χ sigla (fr. 12, 43, 65, 66). At least two other hands have been at work: fr. 36 has a scholium in a tiny semi-cursive (the same hand is perhaps to be seen in fr. 57), and fr. 25 shows an textual addition written in a large crude hand.

Such physical restoration as has been achieved is due mostly to Lobel. I have also had the benefit of a transcription once prepared by Dr R. J. D. Carden, gone over by Dr W. E. H. Cockle and in part by Sir Eric Turner; I have checked my own transcript against this, and record places where Carden seems to have seen more than I can.

Post-script. After my edition was completed I was privileged to have made available to me by Dr Malcolm Davies some notes earlier made by Mr W. S. Barrett. I have made a few additions to my own notes as a result, most importantly on Mr Barrett's brilliantly suggested combination of fr. 2 and fr. 6(b); these additions are printed in square brackets. Otherwise my text stands as written; but it is gratifying to observe that we independently reached many of the same conclusions.

Fr. 1

| | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------|
| |]ρομε...[|]ρομε...[|
| |]αλλάννα[|]ἀλλά νιν α[|
| |]αυτοσευνα[|]αὐτὸς Ἐννα[λι |
| |]τριτογενής[|]Τριτογενής [|
| 5 |]πποσόαπτολ[| ι]πποσόα πτολ[|
| |]μεγαδενφρες[|]μέγα δ' ἐν φρες[ι |
| |]βιοσοστιςτ.[| ..]βιος ὄστις τ.[|
| |]πρ . ε . [| ...]πρ[.] . ε . [|

FR. 1-5 share a close resemblance of script and general physical appearance, and may be supposed to come all from the same vicinity. It may be that fr. 2 belongs above fr. 4, the left side of fr. 2 roughly in alignment with the left side of the upper part of fr. 4; fr. 1-4 could belong in the order given, but that is speculative.

Fr. 1

1 ... [, damaged feet, first perhaps ν , then three more traces: upright, lower oblique, indeterminate 2 α[, or ὄ 7 . [, upper and lower speck suggesting tall upright as of ι or ρ 8]π, or τ. Between ρ and ϵ , mostly blank, apparently abraded; suggestion of stroke coming in to ϵ as of γ or τ . [, perhaps π or γ .

Fr. 2

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | | |
| |] . [] . [|] . [] . [|
| |] ι α π ε δ ω κ . [|] ι α ἀ π έ δ ω κ ε [|
| |] . ι α δ α ρ ό π ώ σ [|] . ι α δ ' ἄ ρ ' ό π ώ σ [|
| |] ε ν α γ γ ε λ ι α [|] ε ν ἄ γ γ ε λ ι α [|
| 5 |] π ε μ β ε δ ε ν υ [|] π ε μ ψ ε δ έ ν υ [|
| |] . ι σ ὄ χ έ α ι ρ α [| Ἄ ρ τ α] μ ι σ ι ο χ έ α ι ρ α [|
| |] η ρ δ ι ο σ ἄ γ ρ ε σ [| θ υ γ ἄ τ] η ρ Δ ι ο σ ἄ γ ρ ε σ [ι |
| |] π ω σ κ α [|] π ω σ κ α [|
| |] . α ι μ ε . [|] . α ι μ έ . [|

Fr. 3

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| | |
| |] . . α μ [|
| |] θ ε ν π ο λ [|
| |] ἄ σ τ ο ρ ο ς [|
| 5 |] β ρ ι σ ο μ [|
| |] α π α [|
| |] ε ς [|

FR. 2-3. Going by physical appearance I should say there is a good chance of these two fragments' belonging in the vertical relationship shown, but I cannot verify it, nor fix the distance between them.

Fr. 2

1 Both traces hooked descenders as of φ or ψ 2], [, midline trace suggesting ε rather than α 3], , speck off the line close to ι 6], [, terminal trace rising from the line, μ? 9], [, letter-top speck], [, supralinear trace at the break (acute accent for ε?), and a speck just off the line

Fr. 3

1], [, two specks on the line 4], [, right side of circle, ν, ο, ω 5 α [, or λ

Fr. 4

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| | | |
| |] ' θ α ν μ [| c. 5] ἄ θ α ν μ [|
| |] λ ε τ ο μ [| c. 6] λ ε τ ο μ [|
| |] ψ α μ ε . [] ο ς . [| c. 6] ψ α μ ε . [] ο ς . [|
| |] π ο τ ε [.] π ε θ [| c. 6] π ο τ έ [ε ι] π ε θ [|
| 5 |] . ε υ π α τ ε ρ ε ι [| c. 5] . ε υ π α τ έ ρ ε ι - |
| |] α χ α γ γ ε λ ι α σ α μ ε γ ἄ ρ τ ο υ [| α , τ] ἄ χ ' ἄ γ γ ε λ ι α σ ἄ μ ε γ ἄ ρ τ ο υ |
| |] ν ρ ε α ι έ μ μ ε γ α ρ ο ι σ ' τ ε θ ν ἄ σ ι τ [] . [| π έ] ρ ε α ι έ μ μ ε γ ἄ ρ ο ι σ ' τ ε θ ν ἄ σ ι τ [ο] ι |
| |] . τ ω ι δ ε π α ρ ἄ ι [| ἄ μ α] τ ι τ ῶ ι δ ε π α ρ ' α ἴ - |
| |] ἀ δ ε λ φ [. .] ἔ κ τ α . [] ε δ α υ τ ο υ σ [| σ α ν] ἀ δ ε λ φ [ε ο ί '] ἔ κ τ α ν ε δ ' α υ τ ο υ σ |
| 10 |] φ [] | c. 6] φ [] |
| |] . ς [c. 8] μ υ μ ω ν | c. 5] . ς [c. 7 ἄ] μ ύ μ ω ν |
| |] φ ρ έ ν α [| c. 16] φ ρ έ ν α [|
| |] [| |
| |] [| |
| |] [| |

1], [, perhaps back of α, no other vowel possible 2] λ, or μ 3 After ε, γ or ν The space looks generous for -νος, more suitable for -νωσ (which the remains do not preclude) At end, rising oblique and suggestion of bow as of μ 4 After ε, loss of one broad or two narrow letters 5], [, trace on edge suggesting overhang of c 7 After τ, surface stripped; trace on lower layer of papyrus, top of apparent upright at some distance from τ 8], [, η, apparently, but possibly ι with a horizontal coming in at or towards the top; papyrus hereabouts damaged when written on 9 After φ, two or three letters lost], [, letter-top trace consistent with ν, in which case ε follows directly 11], [, lower arc as of ο or ω; ink flecks between that and c I take to be insignificant 12 For the most part only scattered specks remain on damaged surface; no reason to suppose that this was not a regular line of the text

Fr. 5

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| | |
| |] θ α ρ σ α λ ε . [|
| |] . . [] μ α . [|
| |] . α γ α σ θ ε ι . [|
| |] φ ἰ α λ ο ν δ ε μ α σ [|
| 5 |] ν χ α ρ . ε ν τ α δ [|
| |] β ι α ν σ τ α θ ε . [|
| |] ' [.] κ . . . [|

There is a sheet join towards the right of ll. 4-6.

Above 1 some papyrus remains, but the surface is stripped 1 . [, speck at upper left excluding none of α , ω 2] . [, foot of upright, curving upright or left side of circle, letter-top speck,] ϵ suitable . [, two traces broken above, suggesting λ 3] . γ or τ . [, left side of circle 4 The top of the sigma is extended, suggesting line-ending 5 . , speck consistent with ι 6 . [, oblique trace at lower left suggesting χ 7] . [, letter-top trace suggesting perhaps α , not excluding ι Before κ , letter-top trace suggesting ϵ After κ , an apparent high point and letter-top traces of uncertain distribution, perhaps $\mu\omega$. [

Fr. 6

(a)] $\nu\epsilon$ [.
] $\kappa\alpha\lambda$. [.
] $\epsilon\nu$ [.
] $\alpha\mu$. [.

(b)] . $\lambda\upsilon\mu$ [.
] $\theta\eta\rho\alpha$ $\epsilon\gamma$ [.
] $\nu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$. [.
] $\mu\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\lambda$ [.

On most of the back of both pieces the fibres run horizontally, owing to an extra layer (a reinforcement patch?). The vertical alignment is reasonably secure. It looks likely that (a) precedes (b), and there may be no line lost between them; but of this there can be no assurance.

(a) 1 After ϵ , papyrus clear at foot (broken above), perhaps line end 2 . . [, two arcs or loops on the line close together 3] . , the merest speck mid-line What I have given as an acute, broken at left, runs into the lower left of κ in the line above but is hard to associate with that letter 4 . [, trace on edge as of ϵ , ω

(b) 1] . . , $\kappa\omega$? 3] . , a letter-top tight loop, ω ? . [, foot of upright

Fr. 7

] $\alpha\epsilon$ β . [.

β . [, not in line with] $\alpha\epsilon$ and presumably from the next column; after β , an apparently isolated trace at letter-top level

Fr. 8

] [.
 1] $\epsilon\delta\iota\bar{\alpha}$ [.
] $\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ [.
] $\kappa\kappa\lambda$ [.
] $\nu\alpha$ [.

2] . , trace level with top of τ 3 A slight gap between ϵ and κ 4] . , right side of μ suggested, e.g. α not excluded

Fr. 9

] $\omega\epsilon\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\alpha$ [.
] [.
] $\chi\eta\rho\omega\nu$ [.
] [.
 5] ϵ . [.
] . [.

Fr. 10

] $\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\tau$ [.
] $\chi\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ [.
] $\acute{\omega}\nu$ [.
] $\delta\alpha\nu\theta$ [.
 5] $\iota\pi\omega\lambda$ [.
] [.

3] χ , κ less good 5 A suggestion of a stroke coming in to upper left of ϵ After ϵ a break, then a speck in line with mid-stroke of ϵ : ligatured $\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\varsigma$ suggested

1] γ , or τ τ [, or π , left end of top only 4] . , right side of η , or (better?) ι ligatured with ϵ or ς 5] . , thickish letter-top trace, blank below λ [, or χ

Fr. 11

(a) .] $\varsigma\phi$ [.
] $\mu\alpha\tau$ [] . [.
] $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron$ [] . [.
] $\tau\acute{\omega}$ [.

(b)] . . [.
] $\mu\alpha\tau\rho$. [.
] $\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\alpha$ [.
] $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon$. [.

It looks very likely that what I have given as (a) and (b) belong in vertical alignment, though I cannot fix their proximity.

(a) 2 τ [, or π] . [,] suggested (space suitable for $\tau[o]v$), then two faint mid-line specks 3] α , has lost part of its back and might be read rather as ω , but that would leave an unaccountable blank area directly beneath the accent] . [, tops of perhaps $\epsilon\nu$ or $\epsilon\varsigma$

(b) 2 . [, ω or ω prob., α not excluded 4 . [, speck level with top of ϵ , consistent with π

Fr. 12

].
].ε.ι. α[
]. τ[
]. χ κ[

2 marg., cursive, damaged; high stop perhaps tiny raised ο, e.g.]πεθιο(ν)

Fr. 14

].
].ιθ.
].ηκ[
].ελα[

Abraded.
 2], upright on the edge
 hooked to left at top (ι not suggested but possible, hardly υ, not ε)
 3], rubbed traces
 4], trace level with top of ε Below λα, dispersed traces of apparent supralineation in next line

Fr. 16

].αθ..[
]καλλ.[
].ετε.[
] [

1], suggestion of horizontal ligatured to α as of γ, ε, τ
], two oblique traces on line, first perhaps ε
 3], top of apparent upright, broken to left
], speck on line

Fr. 13

].
 1]χεεθα[
]πτυχ.[

2], trace on the edge, perhaps α

Fr. 15

]οσευ.[
].ράνα[
] [

1], stroke rising from the line as of λ, μ
 2], tip of stroke rising from the line very close to ρ

Fr. 17

].
]...[
] [

5]ν...[
]νεύδοκ[
] [

].
]...[

4 After ν, hook or arc on line, followed by upright, perhaps οι After apparent stop, anomalous remains, perhaps α or (better?) δ followed by small α, then foot of low sloping upright
 7 Specks on underlayer, perhaps acute towards end

Fr. 18

].ρανα[
] [

].άκ.[
].ατα[

1], tip of slightly descending stroke coming in to leg of ρ
 3], suggestion of trace on the line touching loop of α
], left side of α, ο, or ω
 4], speck level with top of α, e.g. κ

Fr. 19

].ον[
 '].λάρ.[

2], Carden reports 'speck on line in left of space', not now present

Fr. 20

]ηθω[
].μ.ε[
]ρο.[
]ερον[
 5]τωι[

2], rubbed, perhaps η After μ, damaged traces suggesting λ (hardly α); perhaps the remains should be differently distributed
 5 At foot of ι an apparently discrete trace, perhaps of accent in next line

Fr. 21

]εο..[
]οντες[
]και.[

1 After ο, letter-top horizontal as of τ, then a break, then lower part of thin upright
 3], perhaps φ, but much damage

Fr. 22

].
]κατ[
 '].π[

Fr. 23

].

Fr. 24

].
]α [

].χα.[

1 Speck below line, perhaps to be associated with α below
 3], top of upright, clear to right
], shortish upright

Fr. 25

(a)] .οη...η... []
]γαλκαν []
 (b)] []
] λιπαρανπολ []
 5] τρον []
] οναέξων []
] συναισι []
] γοφέαστασις []
] []
 10] . [] εχεν []
] []
] . []

The writing on these two pieces was done with a rather thicker nib than fr. 1-24, and the ink has partly come off. The condition of the verso fibres suggests that (a) and (b) stand in vertical alignment. That they actually join is not certain but looks probable; the letter-top traces of the last line of (a) and the letter-foot traces of the first line of (b) will then belong to one and the same line (transcribed as line 3); but it may be otherwise.

1] ., suggestion of stroke coming in towards top of ο After ν, lower parts perhaps of ligatured αρ After η, left side of circle, prob. ο or c, then stroke rising slightly from the line and foot of upright, e.g. αι 3 unassignable remnants in badly damaged context; see on the combination of (a) and (b) above 5 ρ open at the top, perhaps ω 10] ., suggestion of an arc on or below the line] c, or] ε

Fr. 26

1]]
]] μωι []
]]
]] αὐ []
]]
 5]]
]] βας []
]] εδεσμ []
]] ρι []
]] .ονας []
]] σινα []
 10]] εκουσι []
]] μενουσι []
]] ανγαρηδ []

] .αν []
] εκρα []
 15]] μοιρά []
]]
]] λφειοιςα []
]] ναυτω []
]] ιτις ειςαν []
 20]] ρης []
]] ομμεναφρα []
]]
]] αροις ποθευ []
]] απασι . οισ []
 25]]
]] ρεσιπετρ []
]] νεχοι []
]] κηρσινω []
]]
 30]] . . . ε []
]]
]] αιμη εμπ []
]]
]] ρανομα []
 35]]
]]
]] πολ []
]]
 40]]
]]
]] c []
]] . . . []
]]
 45]]
]] ηνου []
]] ης []
]]
]] υς []

The upper part of this fragment is physically detached from the rest but contiguous. The join was made, or made secure, by Mr Lobel. I do not know whether he found the two pieces attached or effected the join on the basis of fibre correspondence on the back. If the latter, it cannot be regarded as certain that what I give as lines 4 and 5 were in fact consecutive, but it looks probable enough to justify numbering them so.

1], thickish trace on the line, perhaps η or ι 3], upright on the edge 4], top of apparent upright 5 Apparently but not certainly line end. Minimal supralinear traces suggest that α may have carried an accent 7]φ, or just possibly ρ 8], vestige of stroke joining ο near base, δ?], tallish upright, κ? 9]α mostly destroyed], perhaps β 10]ε, or just possibly α 11 The way ε is made suggests it may have been the last letter of the line 13], speck on edge at letter-top level 15], thickish upright á, the accent looks clear enough, but is missing to right, so that a circumflex is perhaps not excluded], ν perhaps suggested by bend in the back of α 16], perhaps the back of an alpha, but somewhat anomalous, and not certainly part of the main text 17], left side of π? 18], perhaps ο], letter-top trace close to putative ω, ν rather than ι or ε 19 marg. After ν, a hole with surrounding traces, perhaps τι or conceivably ον i.e. οῦ(τωσ) 20 Putative high stop could perhaps be end of prolonged top stroke of ε 21 Badly rubbed α, hardly ο 22], upper and lower traces, with perhaps a high stop 23], thick trace on edge above mid-level] [minimally represented, but suggested by ductus of mid-stroke of ε 24], prima facie μ, but perhaps λλ, λα Final ε, or perhaps ε; apparently but not certainly line-final 26]φ, above, there is a trace on the edge (an accent?), presumably applying to the preceding letter], specks on the edge, hardly suggesting but perhaps not excluding (i.a.) α Of the supposed circumflex, only the left extremity, placed rather high 28]κ, hardly χ A slight gap after ν 30 Surface mostly stripped 32 marg.], short upright, ν? 33], ω or ι 34], lower left of μ, κ? 35], minimal specks on rubbed surface 36, 37 Surface stripped. The estimate of three lines between 34 and 38, and again between 38 and 42, may possibly be one too many, in one or both cases. 39, 40, 41 Abrasion has removed most of the ink in 39, and may possibly have removed all of it in 40 and 41 43 Perhaps]λουσ[48 Two specks perhaps casual 49 ν appears to be raised in relation to ε, but I think not significantly so

Fr. 27

col. i col. ii

5] [] τάν [] . [] μ [] π [] ζ [] . []

col. i 6], ν?
col. ii 4], foot of upright, perhaps descender
6], suggestion of arc as of ο 8], upright

Fr. 28

1 Four variously assignable traces on damaged surface 3], heavy letter-top trace, apparent oblique, κ? 4], upright

Fr. 29

]πάζ[
] . επ []
]οσα . . α[]
] []
5] . τεε []
] . τε []
] []
] []
] []
10]θρον[]

2], heavy upper trace], perhaps η or ιτ 3 . . , first perhaps υ, second γ or τ
5], upright, ι? 6 Before τ, perhaps ι or ρ

Fr. 30

]ποτα[
]ροφὸ[
]αλαοφ[]

2 φ[, what I have taken for a grave, broken to right, is placed exceptionally high and is perhaps something else (e.g. a hyphen with ι α[) ο itself could just possibly be α

Fr. 31

]ιον[]
] . ουσ[]
] []

2], speck as of γ, τ

Fr. 32

] []
] ζα[]
] ᾶ . . []
] να[]
] . . []

1], lower left of ε, ο, ω? 3 . .], lower part of upright, foot of apparent oblique

Fr. 33

. . .
] κ. ερ. [
] ξοις. [
] οκευακ. [
 . . .

Fr. 34

. . .
] . . . ας. [
] ε[. . .] εονο. [
] stripped [
] stripped [
 . . .

Fr. 35

. . .
] . . . [
] ^εαερσιπ^αότακ [
] δευτε [
] στεκα ρνεα [
 5] . . . ψόλικονδ [
] stripped [
] . εια. [. . .] ω [
] γπλο αμοιναλεξιδ. [
] ρενακρονανθος [
 10] οσεικελεμηποκαλλā [
] εταν. [~] γαμησαμενος [] . [
] υγεράντεϊδωνανοη [] ο. [
] εωνγαρανδρων [
] γάλω^vσεπεμάσσατο. [
 15] εασδεπλέχθεν. πλεχθ [
] εφανουσαπαλωντ. [] σε. [
] . ε. υ. εροδωντεςαυ. . . [
 . . .

Fr. 33-35. A sheet-join runs down the right-hand side of fr. 35. Fr. 33 and, more clearly, fr. 34 are written on a double layer of papyrus, which implies a sheet-join (the upper sheet terminating at the right-hand edge—in fr. 34 it has mostly torn off), and though I cannot absolutely confirm it from the fibres on the back it looks as if both scraps belong above fr. 35. Their relative vertical position cannot be fixed, but I think fr. 33 belongs above fr. 34, at what distance I cannot tell, and at least two lines (I suspect not more) must separate fr. 34. 2 from fr. 35. 1.

Fr. 33. 1] . . . two indeterminate specks After κ, lower part of ο or θ [, lower left of α, ο? 2 Supposed stop may be upper extremity of ε, but looks discrete 3] . . . two traces not excluding δ

Fr. 34. 1] . . . tops missing, perhaps ατ ε, or ε Stop uncertain 2] ε, or μ [, thin trace on edge, upright or arc

Fr. 35. Written in progressively more cursive fashion. 1] . . . [, foot of short descender as of ι, ρ, then bottom of apparent arc off the line close to foot of sloping upright suiting e.g. ογ, ολ, οπ 3] . . . broken right side of α, ο? 4 Between α and ρ a worm path, leaving minute speck to left and thickish trace to right below letter-top level; two letters possible if both very narrow 5] . . . broken horizontal near letter-top level, joining upper part of apparent upright near tip, then top apex perhaps of α, ο, ρ Of ψ, upper half intact, hardly φ φ, base missing, possibly α 6 A single speck remains, where presumably the upper layer was defective 7] . . . hook below the line [, thick sloping trace on the line as of pointed α [] . . . lower right corner of ν? 8 Between ο and α, a break, speck on line at left ιδ, of ι only the foot, δ broken and with uncharacteristic ink at top (due to the sheet-join?), but beyond much doubt (ζ marginally possible) [, μ suggested, but the loops could perhaps be differently assigned to give e.g. αμ 10] . . . mid-line speck at edge 11 After υ, itself in little doubt, foot of upright hooked to right?, then a break The diacritics are visible to the right of the break, the *breve* uncertain 12 [, left hasta of ?ν 13] . . . λ or χ suggested 14 α before τo corr. from ε

[, confused traces partly detached, ?π, with a supralinear trace 15] . . . sloping trace coming into foot of ε 16 After τ, midline trace of left of letter, then damage [, speck on the line directly after ε, clear above 17] . . . horizontal coming in to upper part of ε Between ε and υ, specks either side of worm-path Between υ and ε, curving letter-top αυ, given as clear in RC's transcript, now only doubtfully recognizable Then a sloping upright with cross-piece to right at top, and another sloping upright seemingly hooked to right at foot Below, extending from α to the break, faint remains of an apparent hyphen

Fr. 36

. . .
] . [
] [
] [
] [
 5] ιωκ'ες [
] τινικη [
] πυθομι [
] τηγδη. [
] αδεω [
 10] [
] τευε. [
 . . .

The scholium, 5-8, is written in a tiny semi-cursive.

1] . . . an apparent stop, close to the edge, not certainly textual 8 [, foot of short upright 11 [, ο or ε suggested

Fr. 40

] . [
] υρϋ [
] διοσα . . [
] [
 5] [
] [
] [
] [
] [
 10] εχησιθ [
] . [. . .] αλαι [
] κμοστ . [] παλαι . ενεσαπα [
] [
] [

3 . . [, sloping upright, surface lost to right, suggestive of γ, followed by foot of possible upright
 11] . [, descender] . . . , broken remains, last two an upright and a stroke joining top of α, possibly κ
 12] . , midline trace, perhaps righthand side of ο After τ, cirlet suggesting ρ in rubbed and damaged
 context Below 12 the papyrus continues blank for a further 3.7 cm., in roughly the same alignment as
 shown

Fr. 41

] . [
] . θ . . [
] πεδα . . [
] ώδεοσα [
 5] τοδόνασ [
] . . ροιστ . [
] ϋστάτ [
] ϋ [
] . [

The appearance of this fragment closely resembles that of fr. 42(a), but I cannot establish a physical relationship.

1 tail of φ or ψ, unless breve applying to line below 2 . . [, letter feet, αι? 3 . . [, lower
 part of sloping upright (e.g. γ, ι, τ), suggestion of upright following 5 Accent not certain, represented
 by faint trace at top of letter in abraded context ζ [, ε, θ not excluded 6] . . , abraded feet, ακ?
 7 Accent not certain, represented by speck in abraded context 8 Various dispersed remains in badly
 damaged context 9 Letter-top trace and some supralineation, perhaps a circumflex

Fr. 42

| | col. i | Fr. 42 | col. ii |
|-----|------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| | | (b) |]. . . [|
| | | |] απαφ [|
| | | |] έλευ [|
| | | |] . άβά [|
| | | 5 |] . υξ . [|
| | | |] . έριχ [|
| | | |] . . [|
| | | (c) |] . [|
| | | |] τεκος [|
| (a) |] [] [| |] ωκεα [|
| |] ματ [] τή . [| |] .] δαχιλ [|
| |] . [| 5 |] .] αϊσφι . [|
| |] εϋπος [| |] . . ζηνοερισφα [|
| |] . αυτον . . [| |] . . ροι . ε . . . [|
| 5 |] ναιθε [| |] έιγ [|
| |] . μαίς . [| |] [|
| |] θάυ . αντοςκ [] . [| |] [|
| |] [| |] [|

The fragments were brought into mutual relation by Lobel. The vertical position of (a) is not assured, but is the likeliest I can find on the basis of possible fibre correspondence between (a) and (c). That (b) belongs above (c) is perhaps less uncertain, though I cannot guarantee it; the distance between them is not determinable, but they could be contiguous, in which case (b) 7 and (c) 1 are one and the same line.

(a) 1] μ, convex right hasta, as μ at fr. 47. 1 Between the two τ's, room only for ι or ο, if anything . . [, slope, λ? 2] . , perhaps a stop; remainder of surface damaged, but apparently not written on 3 υ flamboyantly formed π, or γ 4 Written somewhat smaller and thicker 5 After ε, upright in ligature with midstroke of ε, then scattered traces on damaged surface, last two perhaps εα 6] . , speck on line at some distance from μ 7 Between υ and α, mostly abraded, room for one broad or two narrow letters] . [, letter-top speck

(b) 1] . . , first perhaps μ, second perhaps α or ο 4] . , speck level with top of α; it is not clear how much should be assigned to the alpha, which looks unusually formed 5] . , minute specks on edge] . [, speck on line, unless part of ζ 6] . , tip of oblique suggesting υ or χ χ [represented by stroke below line to left of break

(c) 5] . [, foot of sloping upright hooked to right, suggesting α or c 7 After ε, perhaps εε 8 γ [, or π Above, to right of the accent, a dot of ink, broken at right

Fr. 43

| | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------|
| | col. i | col. ii |
| | . . . | . . . |
| |] . [| |
| |] [| . [|
| |] οφιε[| |
| |] δη δια[| |
| 5 |] ελυθ ^θ δριο[| |
| |] χ νερ[| |
| |] κατ. [| |
| |] σφυρ[| |
| |] προα[| |
| 10 |] κεφ. [| |
| |] . ρ. [| |
| |] . . [| |

On the ground of their similarity of appearance, I think this fragment probably belongs below fr. 42, but I cannot verify it.
col. ii 7 . [, two specks on broken fibres off the line 10 . [, speck on line suitable for α

Fr. 44

] . ρ . θαυμα[
] . [.] . ['] . . [

1] . , mere speck, midline

2 letter-top traces

Fr. 45

] . . [.] ν . [.
] [.
] επάρεκ . [.
] ννεμεσιςφ . . [.
5] [.
] . . αςά[.

1] . [. , ες? After ν, speck perhaps to be taken a high stop, apparently line end 3] [, foot of upright
4 . . [, letter-top traces, first heavy 6] . . , indeterminate letter-top trace, then top of π?

Fr. 46

] . [.] . . [.
] . τεθαλ[.
] [.
] π'έπλων[.
5] . ι' [.

2] . , trace off the line close to leg of τ, perhaps α?
4 Below ε, a stroke of ink broken to left, rather high to be associated with the next line, perhaps the end of a hyphen
5] . , apparent ligature to top of ι

Fr. 48

] αμφ[.
] . ολ . [.
] εναλιγ . [.
] κειμεν[.
5] ωμοφαγ . [.
] . τ . . [. . .] . [.

2 Before ο, feet and tops of two sloping uprights, perhaps μ, or αι?
5] [, thick trace anomalously close to leg of γ, perhaps to be discounted 6 . . [, first perhaps ε or ρ, second foot of apparent upright
] [, supralinear trace, ascender rather than diacritic

Fr. 50

] ρι [.
] . ουςφιν [.
] [.
] . ι' [.

2] . , letter-top trace as of γ, τ 4] . , back perhaps of α Stop not certain, possibly top of bent ι

Fr. 47

] . εμυρ[.
] . ι' . . [.

1] . , γ or τ prob. 2] . , high trace beneath left end of circumflex, position better suiting α than υ? After ι, upper part of narrow ε suggested, followed by blank papyrus except for medial trace: stop and line end?

Fr. 49

] [.
] [.
1] . υγατριδο . [.
] ν [.
] [.
] [.
] [.

The writing is comparatively large and stiff.
1 Above ο, two parts of an apparently continuous stroke, broken to right, hard to interpret
] [, tallish upright hooked to left at top suggesting κ or π, hardly υ

Fr. 51

] [.
] [.
1] ρ'έ . . [.
] . λίπ . [.

1 . . [, perhaps ως, but the remains could be distributed otherwise 2] . , top of upright, clear at left] [, trace on edge off the line

Fr. 52

] . [
] α [
] . . [
] τα [
 5] κα [

1] , speck below line, perhaps paragraphos or diacritic on 2 α [3 . . [, traces on edge of hole, εα?

Fr. 54

] π [
] ι [
] κ [
] . . [

2] , perhaps π 4 κ ε?

Fr. 53

] ρια [
] . π ε [
] τ ο θ ε [
] α ι ά [
 5] ρ ώ ρ α [

1] , γ or τ [, speck on line suggesting upright 2] . , abraded; mid-level specks on edge, then two uprights suggesting ν [, suggestion of shortish descender as of ρ 4] . , specks close to α [, curving upright hooked to left at top, κ? 5] ρ , or possibly ρ

Fr. 55

] π ο τ [
] . τ α ρ [
] ν τ [
] ῥ τ [
 5] . α [
] . [

1] π , or perhaps γι , τι 2] . , ι? 3] . , ε , ά? 4] . , perhaps αι 5] . , oblique coming in to base of α [, stumpy upright, perhaps c

Fr. 56

] ω ν [
] [
] ν [
] . ζ [] [
 5] τ ε μ . . ν ω ν [
] [

This fragment resembles fr. 37, and they may well belong together, but I cannot verify vertical alignment from the fibres on the back

1] ω , perhaps speck of diacritic above, indeterminable (surface stripped before hole to right) 4] . , α? ζ not certainly last letter perhaps εμ 5 . . , scattered traces in damaged context, suggesting

Fr. 57

] . . [
] . . [
] . . . [
] ν α ι ε [
 5] . [
] ν δ ρ [
] [
] ἰ ν [

1-3 Surface mostly stripped 1 γ ο , τ ο ? 3 Feet only: upright, mid-level arc (ο?), slope 4 Semi-cursive. Unclear whether there were two lines of main text between 3 and 6 or only one 6] , suggestion of arc on the edge, ο , ω ? (not α); of supposed circumflex, right end only, in itself could as well be taken as longum or grave 8] ἰ , or possibly η (accent clear)

Fr. 58

] ν α π λ [
] ν κ έ ζ τ [
] . . . ν . . [

3 Traces on abraded surface

Fr. 59

] ε κ ρ ά [
] μ α [

1 Above ε , apparent metallic ink in shape of circumflex, I think not textual [, ν , ψ?

Fr. 60

] . φ ο ι [
] . έ . . [
] . ο α . . [] ζ [
] . . . [

2] . , γ or τ suggested final [, surface mostly gone, perhaps τε? 3 Badly abraded, ζ not certainly 4 Perhaps ικα?

Fr. 61

] . . . cv[
] . υθε[. . .]
] . αυτο . [. . .]
] . αναδρ . [. . .]
 5] οπαλον[. . .] χε[
] . ομενους φ . [. . .]
] . [. . .] κυμασι . [. . .]
] . λιασοθε . [. . .]
] . λικλυζο[. . .]
 10] γαιαλα . [. . .]
] βροτοιςι . [. . .]
] . ιτελ[. . .] ες . [. . .]

Fr. 62

c. 13] . . . [. . .]
 . . .] . ειφ[. . .] . εκταρε[. . .] αμωι . [. . .]
 . . .] . δα . [. . .] . τ . ν [. . .]
] . εστελιενμε[. . .] αφαροσανεψιος [. . .]
 5] . αιολουιπ[. . .] οταδα καθ[. . .] αιςδετα [. . .]
] . νυσεπα . [. . .] . ες [. . .]
] . σιπυρανδ[. . .] . αμεμβλε[. . .] ονεκρωι [. . .]
] . . . [. . .] . ξριμακαεας . . . ονς . . . ονς [. . .]
 c. 8] . . . ιαστεριδα[. . .] [. . .]
 10 c. 9] . ερ . α . θ . . . [. . .]
 c. 10] . τι . . . [. . .]

Fr. 63

] γλυκερανθ . [. . .]
] . ελπιδ' . π . [. . .]
] φιλοισθαυ . [. . .]
] . [. . .]

Fr. 61 has indications of a ragged sheet-join at the right, intermittently visible in ll. 4-7, and I think is to be associated with fr. 62 (itself a composite) in the alignment shown. (Lobel associated it rather with fr. 66, but I can trace no continuity there, whether physical or textual.) The evidence of the fibres on the back seems in favour, without being conclusive. The distance between them cannot be externally determined.

Fr. 62 comprises two pieces, of somewhat different physical appearance, joined by Lobel, apparently touching at a point just below line 4 (ν|μ). A ragged sheet-join runs down c. 1.5 cm in from the break at the right-hand side. (The break between the two pieces—and at the left-hand side of fr. 61—evidently coincides with the sheet-join on the back; the overlap is just over 2 cm.)

Fr. 63 seems to have been associated by Lobel with fr. 39, but there appears to be continuity of vertical fibres with fr. 62 establishing that it belongs below that fragment, at no great distance.

Fr. 61. 1] . . . , foot of upright, trace off the line close to ζ 2] . . . , perhaps upper arm of κ, but ο not excluded] . . . , apparent arc suggesting ν or ο 3] . . . , κ?] . . . , ν? 4] . . . , upright, clear at top, e.g. ι, ν] . . . , minimal, right-hand extremity of sheet evidently torn off] . . . , apparent slope, α? 6] . . . , abraded traces suggesting perhaps c or κ] . . . , indeterminate letter-top trace 7 Before κ, foot of upright] . . . , accent not certain, but some supralineation, hardly to be associated with tail of φ] . . . , speck on line 8] . . . , foot of apparent upright] . . . , specks on edge, consistent with ν 9] . . . , tip of stroke on the line, α?, with perhaps a trace of a diacritic above 10] γ, τ not excluded] . . . , foot of apparent upright 11 Acute not certain; more ink above] . . . , ink on and below the line in between the letters, a low stop or diastole, unless casual] . . . , ink just above, to left of supposed ι; perhaps ι, or ι] . . . , oblique rising from the line, α, λ? 12] . . . , narrow] . . . , suggestion of an acute above?] . . . , θ, c?

Fr. 62. 1] . . . , lower right of ρ, φ?, then foot of upright Not certainly line end 2] . . . , ει, κ, λ, ν?] . . . , εκ, κ suggested, ν not excluded] . . . , top layer evidently gone; possible letter-top remnant where accent commences] . . . , see comm. At end, high stop not certain 3] . . . , δ, upright or arc on the edge] . . . , parts of apparent slightly convex upright] . . . , specks level with top of τ or slightly lower] . . . , anomalous traces on damaged surface, of vowels perhaps α best 5] . . . , top layer evidently gone] . . . , minimally represented, but space very narrow 6] . . . , indeterminate trace on the line contiguous with back of α, and minimal possibly casual specks level with and close to top of α] . . . , suggestion of stroke coming in to base of ε 7] . . . , curve admitting ε, ο, ω 8] . . . , four sharp letter-tops, unassignable] . . . , arc on the line, α, ε, ο, c?, then unusual low letter-foot traces on damaged fibres, ζ possible] . . . , marg., abraded, first two perhaps οζ 9] . . . , heavy letter-top trace, clear to right, then two mid-level traces in damaged context, clear above; uncertain whether two letters represented or one After α, surface lost and/or abraded; acute uncertain 10] . . . , curve suggesting ν After ρ, α suggested, ε not excluded What I transcribe as a supralinear α could be an altered circumflex, but appears to be alpha with a dot to right After θ, speck on line, then apparent upright, then after a gap an arc on the line as of ο 11] . . . , top of ε or c After ι, slope as of δ, λ, then letter-top tip, α?

Fr. 63. Abraded. 1 Above and to left of γ, a faint trace of very doubtful significance, but conceivably lower tip of coronis] . . . , minute traces perhaps of slope as of α 2 After δ, left side of α, ε, or ο] . . . , perhaps ωc, though ω is unusually narrow 3 If lines 1-2 give line beginnings, there is room for a narrow letter before φ, e.g. ο] . . . , letter-top speck close to ν, position suitable for α

Fr. 64

(a)] τρθεναρ.[
] ζακοτου[
] ερασιπτο[
] έθαλες[
 5] αγαθ[
] κ[

(b)] μαχα[
] .αγα .πολ[
] ο . . [] κεςθλαθεοσδ[
] ουδετισεσταρετā[
 5] τώνπαραδα[] μου[
] καιλαχεσωτ[.] .εσα[
] .αριφραδ . [
] εμουτε . [
] . . [

Both (a) and (b) are dark and stained, and bear such a close resemblance to each other on both sides that it can hardly be doubted that they belong together. It looks as if (a) stood above (b); at what interval cannot be determined; at the closest, (a) 5 (*sic*) and (b) 1 would represent one and the same line.

(a) 1 . [, lower part of upright

(b) 2] . , level stroke coming in to top of α as of γ, τ Between α and π, lower part of a longish upright with upper traces suggesting ρ or ν rather than ι; the stop looks clear but is broken at left and could perhaps be part of something else After λ, confused traces of uncertain distribution on damaged surface, perhaps ιαυ 3 . . [, upright, top lost, then median speck before hole 6] . , apex as of δ 7] . , oblique coming in towards foot of α [, top and foot of tallish upright as of ι, perhaps not excluding ε 8 . [, thick trace at upper left

Fr. 65

col. i col. ii

] [] [.] α . [
] πεφ[
] νφυγογ χ αυτ[
] . χ κατ[
 5] . ζαν ≅ χαιρ[
] κλε . [

10] μακα[
] και . [
] βρι[
] τον[

It may be that this fragment belongs below fr. 64, but I cannot verify it.
 col. i. 4] . , perhaps ν 5] . , blob on the line, possibly α, unless to be associated with ζ
 col. ii. 1 . [, foot of upright, and a trace on the line immediately following; perhaps ια, ιλ 6 . [, parts of upright 7 α[, or λ 8 ι . [, top of supposed ι, followed by top of slope as of α, δ, λ

Fr. 66

col. i col. ii

5] . υ [.
] [.
] χα[] [.
] ις . [.
 5] . . . [.
] ταρχεκαιτερ . [.
] νεχεν [.
] πονταπάν [.
 10] . ονανδρι . χ τα[
] δ . [.
] ω[.
] στ[.
] ω[.
] υ[.
 15] [.

col. i. 1] . , slope as of κ, λ 4] ι, or η, of vowels 5] . . . , lower parts, perhaps θοσ 6] τ, or γ αρχ, more ink in this vicinity, offsets or erasure τε, hardly πε After ρ, blank except for a thin faint trace rising from the line, conceivably of an abraded letter, α?, but possibly insignificant 8 Above the first ν, a dot, broken to left, perhaps of an acute on ο ά, what I have taken for an acute may possibly be a longum 9] . , suggestion of γ or τ Above δ, a mark of uncertain form
 col. ii 8 Supposed paragraphos represented by trace on edge in suitable position, too low for a letter 10 . [, upright, perhaps η

Fr. 67

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|---------------|
| (a) |].[| (b) |].[|
| |]ᾶμα.[| |]εραταν[|
| |]εφερο[| |]φιβρότ.[|
| |]αιτοσε[| |]υρξωνκ.[|
| 5 |]ζακοτο.[| |]υσπεριχρ[|
| |]κρατερ.[| |]τηλό.εχα.[|
| |]...[| |]ςελας..[|
| | | |]εικαλωσρωτο[|
| | | |]· [|
| 10 | | |]οντασιδοντ[|
| | | |] [|
| | | |] [|
| | | |] [|

Two pieces combined by Lobel (I am not sure whether correctly). I see no external indication of the distance separating them. (a) may have line beginnings.

(a) 2 .[, lower part of sloping upright 3] . ., papyrus partly out of position; second letter c? 4] ., speck on line, clear above Above ι, an upright trace, top lost in hole 5 .[, short upright suitable for ν 6 .[, upper left of ε, ο? 7 Letter tops and supralineation, perhaps]αξο[, with ιτ[written above ξο

(b) 1] . .[, foot of possible upright, descender 2] ., trace on line, clear above 3] ., prima facie upper right of ν or ω 4 .[, lower part of sloping upright 5 Above left side of c, a speck, perhaps of a lection sign (a grave?) on ν 6 Before ε, letter-top trace compatible with θ After ε, a slight gap and perhaps a low-middle stop 7] ., foot of slope or upright 7]ς, or υ? 8] ., perhaps a high stop, then perhaps a mostly destroyed narrow letter before traces suggesting α 8] ., letter-top speck, not contiguous with ε 9 Stop doubtful

Fr. 68

| | |
|---|---------|
| |].[|
| |]εκ[|
| |]πε..[|
| |]ατρα[|
| 5 |]πυ[|
| |]βαλλο[|
| |]ωναπ[|

3] ., foot of upright at some distance from ε, then oblique as of λ damaged context, perhaps a grave accent π[, or γ

7 Below]ω, a trace in

Fr. 69

| | |
|---|---------|
| |]λον[|
| |]ωνακλ[|
| |]ασιδο[|
| |]χαλκ[|
| 5 |]ης.[|
| |]αχ.[|

5]η, or possibly α

6 .[, perhaps α or λ

Fr. 70

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| |]ειραν[|
| |]μᾶν[|
| |]πτο ^λ [|
| |] [|

Fr. 71

| | |
|---|--------|
| |]ε.[|
| |]ες..[|
| |]να.[|
| |]μα[|
| 5 |]του[|
| |]στομ[|
| |]πόρα[|
| |]...[|

1 .[, low speck insignificant 2 . .[, τσ? 8 Letter-top traces

3 .[, foot of upright

7 Above δ, a blob, apparently

Fr. 72

] . [] φ ε . [
] α ι τ ᾶ χ θ ο [. . .] [
] . ο σ α . ᾽ ο κ α [] . [
] π α ν . [
 5] ς [
] . ε α . . [
] ρ υ σ ο τ . [. . .] [
] μ α κ [. . .] . π . . . [
] . α μ β ρ ο . . [. . .] τ ε . [

There is a sheet-join towards the right side. The edge of the upper sheet has evidently torn away in places.

1] φ, or ψ [, suggestion of oblique as of λ 3] . , γ or τ [, two letter-top specks on mostly destroyed surface, former suitable for ι or γ, latter minimal, directly beneath accent (which is clear), perhaps to be combined with trace at base of ο to give α—but ο itself is anomalous, large and oddly shaped, though I see nothing else it could be, unless the base does not belong, in which case λ is possible After α [, a break, after which only the lower papyrus sheet is left, and it is not clear how far the upper sheet originally extended. The remaining trace is a short thin upper line, perhaps an acute 4 [, foot just below line, e.g. ι 6] . , stroke on line, perhaps c [, speck on line, then top perhaps of τ 7 After τ, suggestion of upright suitable for ρ [. . . , badly abraded; two indeterminate traces, then perhaps αι, then one or two further traces 8] . , short descender, close to π, perhaps ι [, perhaps οκ, then confused traces not excluding α 9] . , letter-top speck as of γ, τ [. . [, αι rather than τ [, left side perhaps of c

Fr. 73

] . . ο μ [
] κ α ι κ α λ ω [
] τ α σ τ ρ [
] [
] [

The writing is a bit larger and more generously spaced than in most of the other fragments
1] . . , two mid-letter traces, the second of an upright

Fr. 74

] . . . [
] ι α ι λ . . [
] φ . . . [] . [
] σ τ ρ ο φ α [
 5] ρ ε ς . [

1 [, ω? 2 After αι, top of α, ο? [, possible upright followed by trace on line suggesting α or δ 3] . , stroke coming in to mid-section of φ and speck above, ε? After φ, indeterminate traces in damaged context, first perhaps α [, high trace, top of φ, ψ? 5 [, speck above line, perhaps acute accent

Fr. 75

] . ε π [
] ο υ ς [
] [
] [

Fr. 76

] α [
] ι [

Fr. 77

] π ο λ [
] α π [

1 First letter perhaps κ, but that leaves unwanted ink at the top of ε, and the whole is rather anomalous; perhaps some alteration and/or deletion

Fr. 78

] . . [
] α ι ο . . [
] μ ω ν π ο λ [
] . π ο λ υ κ λ [
 5] κ ι κ α ι μ ε . [
] . [

The writing is small and fine

2] . , perhaps λ After ι, lower half of τ ο π α ? 3 ω ν unusually ligatured, but I see no alternative 4] . , ε ? ε ? [, specks on destroyed surface, ε possible 5 [, λ ? 6] . [, supralinear speck, perhaps of an acute

Fr. 79

] ν α [
] α ρ [
] α . [
] ν ν [

3 [, perhaps π or γ

Fr. 80

] . [
] μ β . [
] α ζ . [
] ρ α ν [
 5] ε σ α [
] . . [

2 [, α, λ?

Fr. 81

] . [
] α . [
] η δ . [
] μ α τ α [
 5] λ ο ι σ [
] μ ε ν ο ι . [

2 [, ε ? 3] η, or ι in ligature with preceding α or ε [, ι, η ? 6 [, c or stop prob.

Fr. 82

] . όνο[

] , γ or τ

Fr. 83

] . ος π[

] . οκα . [

] . . . [

1] , κ? Stop uncertain level trace, perhaps ρ, hardly π

2] , mid-

Fr. 84

] . πι . [

] . ειτα[

] . κε . [

1] , anomalous traces, perhaps deletion

Fr. 1-24

Some of the smaller scraps perhaps excepted, the script and general appearance of the fragments given under these numbers are so homogeneous as to put it beyond reasonable doubt that they come all from the same manuscript, and I see nothing telling against an assumption that they come all from the same poem. It may be worth while attempting to amalgamate the metrical data capable of being elicited from them, even if there is very little that can be said with certainty. (See the individual fragments for particulars.) Between the two metrically most informative fragments, fr. 1 and fr. 4, there is no evident responson. But there may have been responson between fr. 1. 5-6 and fr. 2. 6-7, and indeed between fr. 1. 1-8 and fr. 2. 2-9; in which case we may recognize strophe and antistrophe, the stanza being a minimum of 8 lines long (fr. 1. 8 could be from the same line as fr. 2. 1). The epode would then be represented in fr. 4. But even so, the location of the stanza termini cannot be fixed, nor is it clear where (or indeed whether) fr. 3 fits in. If it intervened between fr. 2 and fr. 4, it will come from the end of the antistrophe and/or the beginning of the epode, but since the metre of its line beginnings (and endings) is beyond recovery this cannot well be taken further. Fr. 5-24 easily accommodate themselves, without adding very much themselves. The remainder of the fragments, on the other hand, or those among them sizable enough to have anything to contribute, are less readily compatible.

Fr. 1

It is not absolutely certain that the fragment gives us line beginnings, but the line-up of the initial letters makes it look very likely, and the metre confirms.

1 π]ρὸ μὲν would fit, as would e.g. δ|γ]ρομεν-, (δ)|ει]ρομεν-, but the following traces do not seem to suit a participial ending (α, ο, ω).

3-4 Ares and Athena are found juxtaposed on a variety of occasions (e.g. the Cycnus story, or the theomachy, *Il.* 20. 69; but here not at loggerheads?), but none in which the following lines would seem particularly at home?

3 Ἐννά[λιος?

4 Τριτογενής: Κυπρογενής *SLG* 104. 6 (*Il. pers.*). The accent shows an enclitic follows: τ(ε)?5 ἵπποσία: Artemis, as at *Pind. Ol.* 3. 26, XV 1792 (*Pae.*) fr. 51. 3, *Pae.* 9. 7? But gen. masc. is also

possible (of Poseidon?; ἵπποσία: Ἰόλαος *Pind. I.* 5. 32). The only attestations are these Pindaric ones. An elaborate naming of Artemis at fr. 2. 6 f. below.

πτολ[? In Homer πτολ- forms are used *metri gratia*, except for πτολιέθρον; so perhaps that here? But e.g. πτολιπόρθου is also available (it too is not attested in the πολι- form, at least in epic); or if a proper name, either that or Πτολεμαίου, but neither leads anywhere.

6 μέγα δ' ἐν φρεσὶ γήθεε *Q.S.* 2. 357, 4. 332; μέγα δὲ φρεσὶ *Od.* 11. 195, 24. 233, [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 96.

7 δλ]βιος? δλβιος δὲ τὰδ' ὄπωπεν *H.H.Dem.* 480, cf. *H.H.* 25. 4 [= *Hes. Th.* 96], 30. 7; δλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κείν' εἶε' ὑπὸ χθόν' *Pind.* fr. 137. 1, ὁ δ' δλβιος ὄν φάμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί *Ol.* 7. 10, δλβιος δῖντι θεὸς μοῖραν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν *Bacchyl.* 5. 50. I see nothing to commend ὑπέρ]βιος. At the end, e.g. Τρ[ιτογένειαν would be one line of approach ('Happy he who has Athena on his side').

[The tau after τικ is in little doubt; I cannot read the letter as any short vowel. As a rule word-end after contracted biceps is rigorously avoided in Stesichorus (cf. *QUCC* 17, 1974, 15, *GRBS* 19, 1978, 42), but evidently δὲ τικ adequately satisfied the zeugmatic impulse, cf. *SLG* 13. 5 ἐμ]όν τιν μαζ[όν; this is comparable to tragic practice with regard to 'Porson's bridge', e.g. *Eur. Phoen.* 403 ἦν τικ δυστυχῆ (*Maas, Gr. Metr.* § 137).]

Fr. 2

It is not clear just where this fragment stands in relation to the line beginnings and endings, but the suggestion may be worth making that 6 Ἄρταμις and 7 θυγάτηρ in fact began their lines. In that case there will be c. 6 letters lost from the beginning of lines 2 and 3, c. 5 from the beginnings of lines 4, 5, 8 and 9. If we may further assume that all the lines began either dactylic or anapaestic (with or without spondaic substitution), it looks as if line 2 may have begun anapaestic, 3 and 4 dactylic, 5 anapaestic, 8 and 9 dactylic; but even with so little missing there can be nothing like certainty. On the possibility of responson with fr. 1, see on fr. 1-24 above.

If the fragment is to be related to the Meleager story (see on fr. 4 below), νῦν in line 5 could be referred to the boar; but lines 3-4 perhaps better suit a later stage in the tale; νῦν conceivably the speaker of fr. 4. 5 ff. *Alθ]αία* not excluded for line 3, but not commended (see 3 n.); *Κα[λυδων(-)* possible for line 8, but so is much else.

2 -ο]ις, -α]ις ἀπέδωκε(ν) probable. ἀπέδωκα(-) is not excluded, but I think the trace better suits ε[and -αν is virtually ruled out by the absence of accent on ω (since one would expect the doric accentuation to be given).

3 ὄπως. Neither accent is cancelled, and each appears to be by the first hand, though the position of the circumflex suggests that that may have been applied subsequently. At all events, I take it that we are to recognize ὄπως, ὄπως being 'doric'; cf. *Ap. Dysc. π. ἐπιρρημ.* p. 173. 3-12 Schneider on the tenability of ὄπως and ὄπως in doric. Apparently ὄπως unaltered just five lines below (unless there πῶς or πῶ). ὄπως written bare at XXXII 2618 fr. 1 ii 5 (*Eriphyle*), ὄπως apparently miswritten for ὄπως at 2619 fr. 47. 6 (*SLG* 88. 8; *Il. pers.*), both manuscripts devoid of lectional aids.

I articulate -ία δ' ἄρ' rather than -ιάδα β' on metrical grounds (the sequence -ο- only in clausal -ο- among these fragments except at fr. 26. 17 and possibly fr. 62. 6 and fr. 66. 8), but the latter is not out of the question. The initial speck: λ, μ, or ψ suggested, α and ε not excluded, hardly δ, η, θ, κ, φ or χ, not β, γ, ν, ρ, σ, or τ.

4 (-)έκλυεν ἀγγελιάων *Od.* 5. 150, *H.H.* 5. 215. That would be verse-final. But other cases, incl. nom. sing., are of course possible.

5 πέμπε δὲ μιν a Homeric verse-beginning (five times *Il.*, once *Od.*); on the assumption that Ἄρταμις gives the line beginning, προέπεμψε (or προῦ-) would nicely fit the space; that would rule out responson with fr. 1. 4.

6-7 Perhaps there is nothing lost between ἰοχέαιρα and θυγάτηρ, in which case 6 has verse end.

7 ἀγρές[-. ἀγρεσίη used by Leonidas, *AP* 6. 13.

[Mr Barrett suggested combining fr. 2 with fr. 6(b) in such a way as to yield ἀγρές[ι]θήρα, and the combination has now been verified from the fibres by Professor Parsons and Dr Coles. This yields the following text:

Fr. 2. 6 + 6(b) 1

Ἄρτα]μις ἰοχέαιρα[.] . λυμ[

θυγάτ]ηρ Διὸς ἀγρεσ[ι]θήρα

c. 5 ']πῶς Κα[λυδ]ῶν' ἔρατὰν . [

c. 6] . αι μέ[γα 2-3]μα περικλ[υτ

Κα[λὺδ]ῶν' ἐρατάν seems beyond doubt in 8 (cf. Καλυδῶνος ἐρανής in the Iliad's version of the tale, 9. 531, 573; ἐρατῆν Καλυδῶνα *Coll. Alex.* p. 73 no. 2. 22 suppl. edd.; Bacchyl. 5. 106): this gives confirmation that we are in the context of the Meleager tale. That Ἄρτα]μις and θυγάτ]ηρ give the line beginnings now looks likelier than ever. The metre of line 6 is still uncertain (perhaps four and a half dactyls; in that case one might have expected the line division to be made one syllable earlier, but cf. *Ger.* ep. 5-6 [6da_Λ, divided after the fifth longum], and mistaken or inconsistent colometrization is always possible), and I cannot recover the text; along with (?δ[π]) Ὀλυμ[π- e.g. ἀπολυμ- could be considered, but λυμ is itself far from being assured. In 8 the position of the accent would suit ὄπως, but also e.g. -αί or (ἀλλ') οὔ. In 9, the initial speck is suitable for]ται and perhaps also for καί (not θ or ν, hardly c); after μέ[γα (not μετὰ, which would leave the supralinear trace unaccounted for), δερ]μα and δω]μα would each fit the space equally well (then περικλυτον in either case). Lines 8 and 9 may have consisted of four dactyls apiece.]

[If now fr. 6(a) belongs vertically above fr. 6(b), as suggested in the app. crit. there, it may provide the ends of lines whose middle is contained in fr. 2. 1-5. Indeed, Dr Coles confirms that the horizontal fibres allow it to be placed so that fr. 6(a) 1 corresponds to fr. 2. 2 (and thus no line is lost between fr. 6(a) and fr. 6(b)). If both alignments are right, we should have

| | |
|------------|----------------------|
| (fr. 2. 2) |]απαεδωκ. []γ[|
| 3 |]ιαδαρόπῳ[]καλ. . [|

with hardly more than one letter missing in the central gap. It is difficult to see what supplements would fit; and that suggests that one or other alignment, or both, is wrong.]

Fr. 3

If the fragment is correctly ranged with fr. 2, there may be no more than c. 6 letters missing from the beginning of lines 3-4. They may have begun dactylic, but no reliance can be put on that.

- 2 πρόθεν πόλιος possible (once each *Il.* and *Od.*), but so is much else.
- 3 Κ]άστρος (a participant in the boar-hunt, cf. on fr. 4), Ἀ/ἀλ]άστρος the most obvious possibilities.
- 4 A compound in βρισο-? βρισόμαχος is attested (*Et. Mag.* 668. 55).

Fr. 4

A lady (εὐπατέρει[α 5-6]) is informed of bad news: her brothers are dead; [X] killed them. (Cf. *Il.* 15. 437-40 for the sequence.)

The situation would fit the story of Meleager. If the lady is Althaea, and the killer Meleager, the presumption will be that we are in the *Boarhunters*. To this poem XXIII 2359 has been attributed (*PMG* 222; 2nd cent.). But there is a difficulty in the way of assigning both papyri to the same poem (it is certainly not the same manuscript). In the case of 2359 we have a pretty securely reconstructed complete scheme of the strophe (see B. Snell, *Hermes* 85 [1957] 249-51, as modified by R. Führer, *Hermes* 97 [1969] 115 f., cf. *Quad. Urb.* 17 [1974] 12, 14 f., *GGA* 229 [1977] 2, n. 10). There is close metrical affinity with the present pieces (notably no single-short elements), but no actual congruence. Since we do not have the entire scheme of either papyrus, this falls short of outright disproof, but the combined evidence of our fr. 1 and 4 seems sufficiently extensive to make a good test. The problem may be avoided by differently attributing one or other of the papyri. H. Lloyd-Jones once suggested the *Games for Pelias* for 2359 (*CR* 8 [1958] 17), and in the absence of tell-tale names there must inevitably be other possibilities for the present fragments. Trojan saga is brought into play if the addressee is a daughter of Priam, say, or of Antenor, nor is there much to stop us somehow attaching the episode to Aeolus if we wished (cf. fr. 62; we have the Homeric progeny, and in late sources their names and scrappy foundation myths, *DS* 5. 7-8, cf. scholl. *Od.* 10. 6). The mythological net is further widened if the brothers are not *her* brothers (and certainly *τοί* need not carry that implication), but on any natural reading they surely are. The other fragments in this vicinity accommodate themselves more or less readily to the Meleager story (and the prominence of Artemis is notable), but not decisively so.

The estimate of letters lost from the line beginnings is based on the attempted reconstruction of lines 6-9, which is necessarily speculative even if I find it irresistible. Longer lines could be postulated if desired. If the proposed line-length is right, and if we may assume that all the lines began either dactylic or anapaestic (with or without spondaic substitution), it looks as if line 1 will have begun dactylic, 2-4 anapaestic, and 5 dactylic; but that is far from being assured. Verse-end (presumptive) at 6, 9, and 11.

1]άθαν: e.g. perhaps λ]άθαν; Ψαμάθαν unproductive.

3 -ψάμενος is the obvious guess, but I am not sure it would fill the space.]ω for]ο would fit well (ώε?), but is not very attractive textually, though α]ψα μὲν is a possible articulation. Or an intervening letter might be lost: -μὲν[α]? But that looks too cramped, and what follows would be a problem. So perhaps -μενος after all. So the speaker of 5 ff. is male? One of the boar-hunters?

4 θ]: nom. or acc.? E.g. θ[εὰ Θανμαντιάς (*Ιρις), if something other than -ψάμενος in 3, or e.g. θ[ύγατρα.

5 Ζεὺ πάτερ is not formally excluded, but would require a radical rethinking of the context. To the epic attestations of εὐπατέρεια (mostly at line-end, but note Lucil. 545, before caesura) is to be added *SLG* 174. 2 (Stes. or Ibyc.). The preceding trace is very slight; in fact sigma, Θεστιά]ς would fit. (A patronymic might not seem to sit well with εὐπατέρεια, but Hellenistic epic offers *Χητιάς εὐπ.* and *Ἀρακωντιάς εὐπ.*: *Ap. Rhod.* fr. 7. 2 P., same *sedes*, *Rhian.* fr. 56 P.)

5 ff. Antilochus' message to Achilles at the beginning of *Il.* 18 is closely comparable (if less exclusively matter-of-fact), both verbally and contextually; 18 f. λυγρή]ς | πένθει ἀγγελί]ης. Homer would have said ἀγγεῖν]ης (*Il.* 18. 17. 2. 787), not ἀμεγάρ]του. τάχα πένθει refers of course to the news about to be given, and I take it that ἐν μεγάροι]ς need mean no more than that she is inside.

In 7-8 *τοί* and ἄματι are mutually supportive restorations, at least from a metrical point of view. ἦδη was my first thought for the beginning of 8, but ἦδη] would not fill the space. τῶιδε by itself would make the sentence mean 'this man's brothers are dead,' but that would be an odd sort of message, and ἄμα]τι τῶιδε (*Il.* 21. 584, *Od.* 20. 116) removes all difficulty.

παρ' α] [can 8 f. obviously not 'contrary to destiny' but tantamount to παρὰ τὸ καθήκον, παρὰ τὸ δέον, as the same phrase is glossed at *Pind. P.* 8. 13; cf. *κατ' αἴαν* *SLG* 166. 8 (XXXV 2735 fr. 1. 8; Stes. or Ibyc.); I do not know why Page prints apocopated *κατ*], and the passages cited by Lobel in ed. pr. ad loc.; *κατ' αἴαν* again at *SLG* 102. 10 (Stes.), and in the Lille Stesichorus (*ZPE* 26 [1977] 7 ff.) 273 (κα]τ' αἴαν). [An alternative articulation would yield ἐπαραι] [civ or ἐπ' ἀραι] [civ, but I see nothing to commend it against παρ' αἴαν.]

9 For the lexical and metrical (but not syntactical) collocation cf. *Il.* 24. 736 ἀδελφεὸν ἔκτανεν Ἐκτωρ. ε]κτανεν, or perhaps rather κτάνεν, is perhaps to be read at *SLG* 176. 19 (Stes. or Ibyc.).

10 f. The killer. Even if it were clear who he is, it would be futile to attempt restoration without knowledge of the metre to serve as a control. But e.g. δ τεός γα] φ[ίλος would be about right for the space at the beginning of 10, whereas in 11 e.g. Οὐνή]ός [θ' υἱός ἀ]μύμων looks a bit too short in both places; e.g. Οὐνή]ός φ[ίλος υἱός (or δ γ' ἀρη]φ[ίλος) | ξανθ]ός [Μελέαγρος ἀ]μύμων is perhaps compatible with the spaces, but I would expect the identification to include 'your own son.'

12 Not certainly the last line of the column.

Fr. 5

It seems possible that lines 1-6 are in responsion with fr. 1. 3-8 and fr. 2. 4-9, in which case we gain something for the scheme of the strophe: -υ-υ-υ-υ-//υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-//υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-... (fr. 5. 3-5, fr. 1. 5-7, fr. 2. 6-8 conglomerated); but there is no verifying this.

2 μάλ' (or μάλ[ιςτα] looks likely, preceded by α]ίε[α], -ο]ίε[α], ε]ίε[α].

3 ?μέ]γ' ἀγαθεί]ς? Presumably verse end. Cf. *Pind. P.* 4. 238.

4 ὑπερ]φίλον δέμας? [A somewhat surprising phrase, but I see no preferable alternative. Is the reference to the boar, or to one of the huntsmen?] Apparently but not certainly line end.

5 χαρίεντα δὲ εἴματα *Il.* 5. 905, χ. δ. ἔργα *Od.* 6. 234 = 23. 161. But χαρίεν possible, of course.

6. The final trace is not well suited to ι (σταθεί]σαν?), ν (στάθεν?), ρ or υ, though perhaps none of these is quite ruled out, and I see little profit in other articulations (e.g. στά). α] is possible, but στά]θα for στά]θα would be surprising, aside from the metrical difficulties. ζ could be ε (not α), but ν looks secure (not μ). For the beginning, εὐρυ]βίαν seems the best bet (of the boar at *Bacchyl.* 5. 104). Then, unless στά] or στά]θ' (but there are no lection signs), I can propose nothing more attractive than σταθερ]όν τε (οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰχθυροῦ τιθέασι *EM* 724. 44, but attested usage is late).

Fr. 6

Fr. (b) 2 could be in responsion with fr. 2. 6 (= fr. 1. 5, fr. 5. 3?).

(a) 2 Καλυδ]ων- not excluded, but neither is e.g. καλος.

(b) 1 Ὀλυμ]π- looks likely.

4 If we are in the Meleager tale, δέρ]μα περικλ]υτόν might be considered.

[See now on fr. 2 above.]

Fr. 8

- 1 E.g. (αὐτο)χ[ε]διά, δια|[νεκ-].
2 (εν)αντίος.
3 E.g. κλ[αρο-, κλυτο-

Fr. 9

- In responsion with fr. 4. 7 ff.? Or line 1 with fr. 4. 12?
3 χήρων? χηρών?

Fr. 11

Line beginnings, apparently: in (a) suggested by the apparent paragraphus (the position being inappropriate for a longum), in (b) by the line-up of the initial letters. (b) 2-4 could be in responsion with fr. 4. 1-3, but since the distance separating (a) and (b) is uncertain, this is of little practical use.

(a) 3 Unless the beginning scans \cup -, ἄκος is the only word I find compatible with the accent and the remaining traces. In that case, perhaps εἰ[ρέμεναι v. sim. to follow. Cf. *Il.* 9. 249 f., H.H. Ap. 193.

(b) It would be easy enough to bring a sequence of lines beginning ματρός (-όθεν), δλέσαι (unless δλέσαι[ν, with doric accent), and χαλεπόν into relation with the Meleager tale.

Fr. 12

The marginal note will belong with the previous column. (No match with fr. 6.)

Fr. 15

- 2 In light of the position of the initial speck, κράνα[seems likely.

Fr. 19

2 The two accents limit the options so severely as to make it worth while conjecturing βάλ' Ἀρταμικ (ἰοχέαιρα), cf. *Il.* 6. 428, *Od.* 15. 478. I do not think the scrap is to be combined with fr. 2. 5-6, but cannot say for sure.

Fr. 25

It is possible that there is some metrical responsion with fr. 62, with which there is also some palaeographical affinity. (b) 2-7 could be in responsion with fr. 62. 4-8, if (a) does not belong directly above (b) and if there is stanza end at (b) 7 (as there may well be, given the stop; alternatively, a different restoration at fr. 62. 9 from what is proposed there). But this is quite uncertain.

If λιπαράν in 4 is λιπαράν rather than λιπαράν, something which I see no way of controlling, we have a connexion with Aeolus, mentioned in fr. 62 (ἀνέμιος Αἰόλου Ἰπποτάδα, 5-6, where see n.), and shall want to bring the poem into relation with the foundation of the city, of which we have two accounts in DS 4. 67 and 5. 6, each involving ετάσις (8). But I can adduce nothing confirmatory in the other fragments.

2 ἀλκάν (presumably so, rather than a name) suggests a context of conflict.

4 πόλ[ω is possible, but neither that nor the absence of accents helps decide between λιπαράν and λιπαράν (λιπαρήν πόλιν Hes. fr. 196. 4, Theogn. 947).

5]τον is crudely written in large letters; it is not clear whether it is part of the text.

6 e.g. θυμ]δὸν ἀέξων, 7 e.g. ὁμοφρο]εύναισι.

8 Presumably ετάσις not τάσις. For]νοφέα (the nu almost certain) I see two avenues of approach: (i) a name (acc.): none attested; (ii) an adj.: in the circumstances δ]νοφέα seems very likely. To the instances given by *LSJ* and *Suppl.*, *SLG* 222. 6 may now be added.

10 I think the right reading is ε]χχεν (or in fact έχχεν: there may be a vestige of the top of the epsilon) rather than]έχεν, but cannot exclude the latter (impf. or inf.).

Fr. 26

Presumably there is responsion somewhere in this fragment, but I cannot pinpoint it. The best suggestion I can make, taking as starting-point the possibility of responsion between 12 (ending]αν γάρ ἦδ[η?]) and 24 (ending ἄσαι λαοί?), is that 6-17 is in responsion with 18-28 (giving a 12-line strophe); but for that to be feasible one must postulate two lines lost after 24 rather than one, and that does not look very likely. As for metrical match-making with the other major pieces, it may be that there is responsion between

fr. 26. 24 ff. and fr. 35. 8 ff., or indeed with the whole of fr. 35. But that is not sufficiently assured to serve as a control on attempts at restoration.

12 ἦδ[η seems very likely, even without taking metrical considerations into account. Presumably verse-final.

14 If]ε is rightly read (I see no reasonable alternative), this line is apparently in synapheia with the next, but it is unclear whether κρά is biceps (as e.g. ὑπὸ δ]ε κρά|[τεσφι) or longum (as e.g.]ε κρά|[ατα).

15 The apparent acute may rather be taken as the lefthand side of a circumflex, to allow Μοιράν. *SLG* 166. 14 (Stes. or Ibyc.) ?βουλα]ίσι Μοιράν, Lille Stes. (*ZPE* 26, 1977, 7 ff.) 224 ἔκατι Μοιράν, neither of those excluded here. Clausular, no doubt.

17 (ματρ-, πατρ-)αδελφείοις. Is -εοίς one syllable (as at Pind. *I.* 8. 35a) or two (as usually)? The latter, I take it, since we shall not willingly posit \cup --| within the line in Stesichorus. We then have a phenomenon which among these fragments is metrically notable: the sequence \cup -- in a verse which apparently continued beyond the next syllable. It looks as if we may have it again in lines 21 and 28.

18 αὐτῶν, apparently, unless (Ἄργο)ναυτῶν might be written so.

19 marg. έίκαν, as a v.l., looks likely enough (e.g. vs. έαν in the Iliadic collocation παντοείκαν), but it is not clear what followed.

20 Perhaps e.g. ἱαρήσ or ἱρήσ (ἱερείς), or even e.g. κ]ρήσ (κρέας: Theoc. 1. 6 codd.). But if the apparent stop is rather part of the sigma the range of possibilities is widened to include e.g. χρήσθαι.

23 E.g. ἐν με]γάροις.

24 ἄσαι λαοίς seems the most satisfactory reading.

26]ρεcci. It is not clear what is to be made of the supralinear trace at the left. It could be the right component of a trema, which would imply ἰόεcci or αἰόνεcci. Better suited to πετρ- might be δκρυόεcci: the supralineation could be recording the v.l. δκρυόεcci (or vice versa). But that can only be a guess. As for πετρ-, both πέτραις(ι) and πέτροις(ι) are ruled out by the accent; its position suggests πετρᾶν rather than (γά]ρ έcci) πετραίος.

28 *SLG* 11. 1 (*Geryoneis*) gives χηρᾶν, but the first letter here appears to be κ: Κηρ(ε)ίν. The added sigma (which is a little surprising, given the lack of gemination in e.g. χερσί, θηρσί) looks as if it is by m.1.

32 κα]ι μη]δόμενος may give the pattern, unless e.g. Κλυτ]αιμή|[ετρ-. (I take this opportunity of withdrawing my suggestion of Κακκάνδρα in XLIV 3151 fr. 4 (Soph. *Locrian Ajax*), which has found its way into Radt's edition, *TrGF* 4 F10e 15, cf. 10f 1: it would not scan!)

34 ὠ]ρανομακ-.

46 θρ]ήνου, etc.

Fr. 30

- 3 λαοφ- or -λαο?

Fr. 33

3 Prima facie δοκέεας (as at *Il.* 13. 545, 16. 313, [Hes.] *Scut.* 333, 425, all verse-end; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 10. 30), but -αι would be the normal orthography; so έ]δόκευας?

Fr. 35

On the possibility of responsion with fr. 26, see there. Within fr. 33-35 it is easy enough to postulate responsion (e.g. between fr. 33. 1-3 and fr. 35. 8-10, and between fr. 34. 1-2 and fr. 35. 13-14), but there is nothing definite enough to build on. Just how much is missing from the beginning of the lines is not clear. It is notable that the preserved parts of fr. 35. 9-17 all begin (in some cases not certainly) within a biceps: \cup --(υ)] could well be supplied in front of them all, or (more likely?) \cup --(υ)] (which might make some lines hexameters).

2 E.g. ὄρθηθ]α, κύκνο]ς. The supralinear ε, which seems to be by m.1, registers -πέτας as a v.l. (not as a correction: ο is not cancelled), but I would say the *utrum in alterum* principle told in favour of -πότας. [Hes.] *Scut.* 316; κύκνοι ἀερσιπόται, the earliest attestation; -πέτης at Q.S. 3. 211, 6. 49 (-πέτησιν both times).

3 Again, a v.l., entered by m.1. Perhaps εδτε in the sense of ἦντε 'as' or 'like', cf. *Il.* 3. 10, 19. 386; in the latter place αδτε is attested for city-texts (schol. A). But that is unexpected at the end of the line (and verse?). αδ vs. εδ, δαδτε vs. δευτε?

4 Space and traces allow both ὄρνεα and ἔρνεα, but I think the latter has the palaeographical edge.

5 I cannot better my transcription, implausible though it is.

7 Since a longum over an epsilon is nonsensical, I think my reading must be wrong. The longum itself is clear, and cannot be an accent. The apparent epsilon is broken and stands at a distance from the iota; perhaps after all it is alpha, though that would be a forced reading palaeographically, without being enticing textually.

8 *πλοκάμοισιν* is apparently followed by a compound in *ἀλεξι-*. Unless a proper name, this will be new: *ἀλεξίδματος* an unlikely word, *ἀλεξίζαλ-* hardly to be read, perhaps *ἀλεξίδαμος*, *ον* (for the meaning cf. *ἀλεξίμβροτος*). A proper name more likely? An Alexidamus wins the bridal-race for the daughter of Antaeus in Pind. *P. 9 ad fin.*, another is the celebrand of Bacchyl. 11, there are three more in Pape-Benseler, and Plutarch gives *Ἀλεξίδα* as a daughter of Amphiarus (*Qu. Gr. 23*). Garlands are prominent in both the Pindaric and the Bacchylidean contexts (*P. 9. 123 f.*, Bacchyl. 11. 18–21, the occasions bridal and epinician respectively), cf. esp. lines 15–17 here.

9 (ἦβας?) ?τέ]ρεν ἄκρον ἄνθος.

10] οσείκελε; apparently vocative. I see two possibilities. (1) εἴκελε or π]ροσείκελε. Odd in the vocative. (2) Σείκελε i.e. Σίκελε, whether ethnic or proper name. Σίκελ- in Hellenistic hexameters and Σικαν- in Homer are enough to assure the acceptability of the quantity, and Σει- for Σι- is not anything to blink at; for the double variability cf. ἵκελος/εἴκελος. Nor need the accent deter. The conventional oxytonesis does appear to be Herodianic ('Arcadius' p. 55. 9 f., oxytonesis prescribed for non-compound trisyllabic [or specifically tribrachic?] adjectives in -ελος, Σικελός listed among them), but (i) Σεικελος as ethnic would fall into the category of 'adjectives in -ελος of more than two syllables with long antepenult', for which proparoxytone accentuation seems to have been prescribed (τὰ διὰ τοῦ ελος ὑπερθετικά [leg. ἐπιθετικά] ὑπερδιδύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην μακρὰν προπαραξύνεται, 'Arc.' p. 55. 6 f.; the list includes εἴκελος), and (ii) the proper name too might qualify for proparoxytone accentuation (τὰ διὰ τοῦ ελος μονογενῆ προπαραξύνεται, 'Arc.' p. 55. 1–3, with the reservation εἰ μὴ πάθος τι γένοιτο; the list includes Σθέμελος); W. H. Chandler, *A Practical Guide to Greek Accentuation* § 283 reports 'sometimes Σίκελος' (similarly with e.g. Θεσσαλος), and accentuation of words in -λος is so complex, not to say chaotic, as to make vacillation virtually inevitable. For Sikelos, eponym of Sicily and the Sikels, see esp. D.H. 1. 22 (citing Hellanicus [S. leader of the Ausonian immigration] and Philistus [S. leader of the Ligurian immigration, son of Italos]; cf. Thuc. 6 *imit.*); we have no certain access to tradition earlier than the 5th cent.

Remaining obscure is the relation of this line to its surroundings.

Apparently ἀλλα[ν, -α[ε, -α[ι (not adverbial, for that would be given circumflex rather than longum?, likewise ἀλλάν), but the first labda is not secure.

11 *μηράμενος*, I take it, not *γαμηράμενος*, a form of the aorist not attested before the 4th cent. Before it, not *μέγα*; I cannot quite exclude *τύ γα* (or *κύ γα*, palaeographically easier), but it would be rather cramped, τ is not suggested, and there seems little point in the breve; best, I think, *δ γα*, taking the apparent breve as a breathing.

12 *ετ]υγεράν* (unless a name) *τε ιδών*. Then either *ἀνόη[τ]ον* or *ἀνοή[μ]ον* (α) would fit: *ἀνοή[μ]ον* (α τ' --?)

13–14 13 *πο]λέων?*, 14 *με]γάλωσ ἐπεμάσσατο* (corrected from -ετο). *έν-* is registered apparently as a v.l., but I am not at all clear how it is meant to be understood.

15 *μαργ. πλέχθ[εν]*, i.e. *δέ πλέχθεν* not *δ' ἐπλέχθεν*? Cf. XXIII 2359 (*Boarhunters?*) fr. 1 i 6, where *δ' ἐμόλ'* in the text is attended by marginal *μόλ*. Hardly *πλέχθ[ην]* as v.l. (*μιάνην Il. 4. 146* was taken as dual), and hardly *πλέχθ[ησαν]* as gloss, for that would have augment, and there is neither room nor need for *πλέχθ[εν]* *ἐπλέχθησαν*.

(*ἐπλέχθεν* presumably aor. pass., and *δ(έ)* connective, but then what is the construction of -εας? *πο]λέας ... ετ]εφάνους* could well go together, but that would mean ignoring the stop (which is quite clear, and quite independent of the scholium), and the construction is still elusive. Surely *ἐπλέχθεν* is unthinkable as middle. We could imagine a scribal conflation of *πολέας δ' ἐπλέχθεν στεφάνοι* and *πολέας δ' ἐπλέξαν στεφάνους*, or we could put e.g. *έσ* in front of *ετ]εφάνους*, but there is still the stop.

δεπλέχθεν scans like the ends of lines 9 and 13, I take it.

16 *ετ]εφάνους ἀπαλών τε σελ]ίνων?*

17] . ε . υ . ε *ρόδων*. A verb, -υξε? But easier would be *τε ίου τε*, if the remains allow. *ι* is I think consistent with the scanty traces between the first *ε* and *υ*; if *τ* is to be recognized after *υ*, its top was anomalously bowed, but I do not think it is ruled out. If *ίου τε* is right, the preceding *τε* implies yet another plant name before it, e.g. *μύρτου*, -ων (cf. e.g. *PMG 187*), *ναρκίσσου*. After *ρόδων*, *τε* or *τ'*, then damaged and difficult remains, the alpha straddling the sheet-join. I can offer nothing quite satisfactory: *σαργά]νας*

(the rho seems not impossible, the supralineation would have to be taken as an acute cancelled or converted to a grave), *έσ αυτε* (with which the hyphen would be intelligible)?

Fr. 36

5–8 *νίκη, Πυθοί*.

Fr. 37

Metrical resposion with fr. 62. 4–7 is possible. If the fragment belongs with fr. 56, the content could be brought into relation with Memnon, possibly mentioned there.

1 *Αιδόδε* likelier than *Αιδοςδέ*, despite the stop?

2 *θ]εόν*.

Fr. 38

If *επι* is written in ecthesis, as appears to be the case, it may be in amendment of the colometry, cf. fr. 42(c) 6. I see nothing to support a notion that it is a title, *επι Πελαίαι άθλα*.

Fr. 39

This fragment apparently has column top (c. 2.5 cm clear above line 1), whether or not line 1 was actually the first of the column. I can effect no compelling metrical match with any of the other major pieces, and it is not even clear where resposion occurs within the fragment. The apparently double-short endings of lines 18–19 and 22 do not evidently occur elsewhere in the fragment. A possibility is that lines 1 and 11 are in resposion, and lines 5 and 14 likewise (the estimate of lines lost between 1 and 5 is then one too many, which may well be the case), in which case the antistrophe will probably end with line 16 (or 17, but the stop at the end of line 7 perhaps makes the former more likely). But it must be acknowledged that the basis for this is slight, and the disparity in length between line 6 and line 15 not encouraging.

1 *έσθλών* or -ώι, presumably line (and verse) end.

10 (-) *μίσγετ' ά[...]* seems indicated.

11 *ώσ τερπνόν έθηκε*, apparently. The line is exceptionally long: it may be that *έθηκεν* is to be read (followed perhaps by a stop), and that the letters that follow (*φ[ι]λ-?*) are not part of the main text. But this cannot be verified, since it is difficult to say whether or not the last letters, which appear to be in the same hand, are written slightly smaller, cf. line 29 below. The supposed transition point happens to coincide with the transition from one papyrus sheet to the next, and just before *φ* it looks as if the extreme edge of the upper (left-hand) sheet has torn off, whether carrying ink with it or not.

12] *ργος ώσ*, it seems. In Homer postpositive *ώσ* scans as if *ρωσ*, and one might expect it to do the same in Stesichorus. But I am not sure that would give a metrically tolerable line ending.] *ρ* looks a good reading; the only alternative is to take the letter as *ο* and the apparent tail as some supralineation to the line below, but that would be forced. Perhaps *ώσ* does not here lengthen: e.g. *παίδας ιδέσθαι* and *καί άστυ* in the Lille Stesichorus (*ZPE 26, 1977, 7 ff.*; vv. 211, 218) would be comparable; cf. also line 15 below. Then we have a line ending -υ-, readily acceptable in itself though unusual if not unique among these fragments.

13 ? *φάος άγνόν Άούς*.

14 I take it that *τό* (or -το) *δέ προς θεών* will scan either υυ-υ- or υυ--. On present evidence it looks as if Stesichorus—or his manuscript tradition—regularly uses *ποτ-* and *ποτι* rather than *προς* where possible, but *πρός* rather than *ποτ* in apocope. But he may have been less consistent.

15 Given *δμε* and the following traces, *Κ[α]δμεϊοι* looks a good bet; the first trace, while not particularly suggesting *κ*, is indeterminate. I cannot elicit what follows. *εργα* would seem to fit the traces, but then we would have to reckon with correption before it (or else take -οι as contracted biceps, as at *Il. 4. 391*, but in Stesichorus word-end at that point would be highly abnormal). *ερα[* (i.e. *εργ-*) is another possibility. The remaining surface is blank except for a single speck, but it could be that the upper surface carried the writing.

16 No match with fr. 64 (to give *Κλωθω | και Λαχεσω*).

18 *ένι φρασίν*.

19 Apparently (-) *τέρπετο*.

20] . *ων και?* If so, presumably *καί* is biceps, and lines 18–21 will probably constitute a single verse (each line dactylic tetrameter?).

21 *μ]είζω* looks likely.

22 The only reading I can find that is acceptable on both the paleographical and the textual front is ἄστυ λιγέ-.

23 εἰδάρειον (unless a compound) is obvious enough, though several other articulations are available (e.g. ῥέον αἴ[ματι]). -εον followed by a single long syllable, I take it, which will be in synapheia with the next line. So it looks as if lines 22-24 were all one verse; cf. *Geryoneis* ep. 4-5 for a line ending -οο followed by a line ending with non-clausular οο-.

24 There is no hope of reading this severely damaged line, nor of determining where poetic text ended and annotation (if any) began.

27 Perhaps (-)ούτος; and to judge from the size of the writing, annotation rather than text.

29 Apparently πρός recorded as a v.l. for πρό. (If there was an accent on προ it has rubbed off.) No evident connexion with the note below.

30 ιω or ιο (-ιο(ν)) may be possible for ιυ, but εἰν τω is not to be read. Ptolemy cited again at fr. 70. What directly followed the name is quite unclear. For what follows the supralineation, ἠύρικκ- is an obvious guess (a v.l. for εὔ-; the acute pointing to ἠύρικκον 3 pl.?) which the final traces neither confirm nor preclude. Ptolemy is again cited, in the same abbreviated form, in two further Oxyrhynchus manuscripts of lyric poetry, XI 1361 (Bacchyl., 1st cent.) fr. 5 i 13 and XXIV 2387 (Alcman, 1st cent. BC/1st cent. AD) fr. 1 marg. 4. Since in the latter instance his text is mentioned in tandem with Aristonicus', it is possible that he is the Ptolemy attested in other sources as Aristonicus' son (or father). Another possibility is the Ptolemy dubbed ὁ Πυδαρίων a number of times in the Homeric scholia, of Alexandria (*PW Suppl. band IX*, no. 79a). But very little is known of the ancient scholarship on the *λυρικοί* (the papyri themselves are the most important source), and secure identification is beyond reach.

Fr. 40

Unless an extremely short line followed, line 12 will be the last line of the column. If -οο-ο is supplied at the beginning of line 12, we may have a hexameter. It looks possible that this fragment is in metrical resposion with fr. 35. 6-16 (in which case five lines, not six, are missing between lines 3 and 10; that is quite possible); but in appearance it more resembles fr. 39.

3 Perhaps αγρ[(cf. fr. 2. 7).

10 (-)έχησι

12 παλαιγενές: or rather τρ[ι]παλαιγενές (*add. lexx.*), I fancy. Then ἀπά[λαμόν τε? At the beginning, apparently (-)δ]οκιμος.

Fr. 41

3 πεδα = μετα, in all probability.

4 E.g. εὔ]ώδεος.

5 If the accent is not illusory, e.g. δ' ὄνα[ω.

7 The accent, if rightly recognized, may point to ὑστάρ[οι.

Fr. 42

(a) 7 Θαύμαντος: Iris? Perhaps cohering with αἰθερ- (*αἰθέρος?*) in 5.

(b) To judge from the alignment with (c), it looks as if we are within one letter of the line beginnings.

3 ἔλευ[ce? Cf. ἔλευσα[ν Ibyc. *PMG* 282(a) 18 (*SLG* 151. 18). But an initial letter may have been lost, which would allow κ]έλευ[-.

6 For the first letter π is perhaps not excluded, to give πέρι.

(c) 2 τέκος?

3 ὠκεα[ν- or ὠκέα (of Iris, cf. (a) 7)?

4 δ' Ἀχιλ- not the only available articulation, but there are no lection signs.

5 In light of the diacritics (the *breve* will be applying to the alpha), αἴ cφι, cφισι seems probable.

6 Ζηρός ἐρισφα[ράγου, -οιο, I suppose, though a remoter possibility is raised by the attestation that Stesichorus called Heracles ἐρίσφηλος (*PMG* 253, perhaps rather -cφαλ-). The same phrase at Bacchyl. 5. 20, in description of the eagle. The form shows that Ζηρός is textual, not a gloss: scribal omission, or mistaken colometry? The latter likelier, I would say; cf. e.g. *SLG* 9(a) 2-3, 76. 4 (both from 2617, *Geryoneis*).

Fr. 43

If this piece belongs below fr. 42, as seems probable, at least three lines must be lost between fr. 42(c) 8

and fr. 43 ii 2. The only place a paragraphus can have been lost between lines 3 and 10 is at 5/6, where the surface is stripped.

2 Not -φι e.g. θέ]οφι, I take it, because if so why not -ω? (ε is almost certain: not θ, I think, and definitely not c.) So ὄφιε[ς, -ccι? Did snakes bite someone on the ankle (cφυρ[8] in a copse (δρισ[5])? But that would take only one snake: so ὄφι (doric dative, -ι in correction)?

6 (ε)]νερ[θα?

10 κεφα[λ-, unless κε. (Stesichorus used κα, but may have availed himself also of κε for metrical convenience.)

Fr. 45

3 E.g. παρέκ ν[όον.

6 παρὰ[ν seems likely.

Fr. 46

2 θαλασσ-, θαλει-, τεθαλυι-.

4 ἐν-, τανυ-. Presumably verse-end.

Fr. 48

2 μόλε[(ν), Αἴ]ολε-?

3 ἐναλιγκ-, 5 ὠμοφαγ-. An animal simile?

Fr. 49

1 θυγατρί seems indicated, rather than some part of θυγατριδοῦς. I do not think the supralineation is an apostrophe; conceivably a rough breathing, or a cancelled acute (cf. ὄπως fr. 2. 3).

Fr. 51

1 ἔω[ι, ἔω[ε?

Fr. 55

4 If in hiatus, perhaps part of ἴνυ, but correction is possible, enabling e.g. ἴτω.

Fr. 56

5 Μέμωνων?

Fr. 58

2 ο]ύκ ἔστ[ι, the accentuation in accordance with Herodian (i. 553 Lentz, cf. schol. bT *Il.* 1. 63, schol. A *Il.* 6. 152).

FR. 61-70

These fragments have such a close resemblance to one another that I imagine we would be justified in assuming that they all come from the same poem. We have triad boundary marked by coronis in fr. 65 and 71, and stanza boundary marked by paragraphus in fr. 64 and perhaps in fr. 66, and we also have a number of line beginnings, or in the case of fr. 62 whole lines, where no stanza break occurred. I see no internal inconsistency among the various metrical data (bearing in mind that an initial long syllable by itself may be either biceps or longum), but the evidence is not sufficient to allow a secure reconstruction of the scheme.

There appears to be general metrical affinity with fr. 1-25, but I perceive no actual congruence. Fr. 62. 5 ff. and fr. 4. 7 ff. could be taken as being in resposion were it not for the fact that fr. 62. 4-5 appear to be in synapheia. See at fr. 25 for the possibility that that fragment belongs with this group, and for the palaeographical considerations see intro.

Fr. 61

2 κυθερεια excluded by the final traces, I think.

5 Unless ἰκόπαλον is to be entertained (but I believe it is exclusively a late form), ῥ]όπαλον (or *P]όπαλον*) seems indicated. By itself that might suggest Heracles, but I see no other sign of him. πάλον or παλόν (πηλόν) also available but unenticing.

6 If]κ, perhaps ἀφικόμενος; but]c may be better.

7 The possibility of Κύμα exists, and even of Κύμα Σιβυλλ- (cf. on fr. 62 below), but in the context (so far as it is apparent) I suppose κύμα is more likely, and κύμας likelier still, the apparent grave being far from certain.

8 (ἀλός) π]ολιάς a possible reading. Then perhaps ὄθεν.

9 ἀλὶ κλυζο[μεν-?

10 γαίας?

11 The acute accent is hardly possible (-βροτοὶ nom. pl. would be expected to receive paroxytone accentuation), so is probably something else. And I think βροτοὶς is probable, despite the unwanted ink; but if significance is to be attached to the ink after -τοί, CIA[or CIA[(not Σικ[is indicated (CIA[λ-?).

12 I would guess the sequence λ[ο]εcc is to be recognized; which would mesh well with fr. 62 (see on fr. 62. 1 f. below)—this line and fr. 62. 1 in immediate succession? (ἐ)λόεccε, -av, λοέccαις. If in fact an acute on the second ε (there is a very slight trace in suitable position), ἐλοέccav may be indicated. Perhaps something on the lines of: (?..) ἀλλ' ὄδατ]ί τ' ἐλοέcc[av || εὐ λιαρῶν καὶ ἐχ]ρί[|cav κτλ.

Fr. 62

A funerary scene. Aeolus' cousin tends the corpse, and sets about the pyre.

It is easy to imagine a scene like the discovery and cremation of Misenus' corpse by Aeneas and his companions in Virg. *Aen.* 6, and if fr. 61 does belong here, a body washed up on shore is the obvious guess (fr. 61. 7-9). Does our present passage underlie Virgil's? A curious point of contact is that Misenus is *Aeolides* in Virgil (6. 164): in our papyrus it is a cousin of Aeolus who tends the body (4-5, see n.). That is not to say that our corpse is Misenus, let alone that our story concerns Aeneas rather than Greeks.

A complicating factor is the central panel of the Bovillae *tabula Iliaca*, labelled Ἰλίον Πέρεις κατὰ Στησίχορον, depicting (i.a.) Aeneas' ἀπόπλους from Troy εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν in company with (named) Misenus (A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, 1A; *PMG* 205); what real relation the pictures have to Stesichorus—if any—is notoriously problematic (for discussion and bibliography see N. M. Horsfall, *JHS* 99, 1979, 26-48). Our papyrus cannot be from the *Iliupersis* (for metrical reasons if for no other). If Misenus—eponym of Cape Misenus—is Stesichorean, it will most probably have been as a companion not of Aeneas but of Odysseus (Strabo 1. 2. 18, 5. 4. 6, cf. Lycophron 737). Our poem could be a version of the western wanderings of Odysseus, taking him both to the Aeolian Isles (Lipara fr. 25?) and to (Baiae and) Misenum—the *Nostoi*, unless a separate poem devoted to Odysseus; but there is no metrical congruence with XXIII 2360 (*PMG* 209), attributed to the *Nostoi* (and itself Odyssean), nor do I see anything particularly supportive of the idea in the other fragments here.

Or rather than removing Aeneas from the scene, one could remove Misenus. If Αἰ[γέ]ετταν is read in line 3, connexions are opened up with Segesta, associated with Trojan exiles at least as early as the 5th cent. Fr. 35 gives us (?) Σεικελε ('Sikel?'), and Aegestes (v.sim.) was grandson of (Trojan) Hippotes (Serv. on *Aen.* 1. 550, 5. 30). But this is tenuous in the extreme.

There are other found drowned bodies with Aeolid connexions: Ceyx (Alcyone daughter of Aeolus), Melicertes-Palaemon (M-P grandson of Aeolus, Sisyphus son of Aeolus); but the Aeolus in question is in those cases son of Hellen (at least in Hesiod: one cannot automatically assume the same for Stesichorus), and there are other elements of inconcinnity. The Trojan saga knows no lack of other washed-up bodies—Locrian Ajax, Meges and Prothous and other victims of Nauplius, other returning Greeks, Polydorus—but none looks attractive and they all leave the cousin of Aeolus stranded.

If the letter before μωι at the end of 2 certainly looks like α, but that makes the final sequence difficult, and I think δ is possible, enabling ἀ]λείφ[ατι] νεκταρε[δ]δμωι (*add. lexx.*). The traces at the end of 1 would suit (ἐ)χ]ρί[|cε, -cav. Washing will have preceded (cf. e.g. *Il.* 16. 669f., 18. 350, 24. 582, 587): either e.g. λούσεν ποτάμιοι ῥοαῖς καὶ ἐχ]ρί[|cεν, -cav, or e.g. ὕδατι τ' ἐλόεccεν ἐχ]ρί[|cέ τ'. (See now on fr. 61. 12 above.)

4-5 ἐστόλιεν μέ[γ]α φάρος ἀνέψιος | Αἰόλου Τπ[π]οτάδα. I take μέ[γ]α φάρος as an internal accusative. ἐστόλιεν in this context in the grave-epigram of *Anth. Gr.* 7. 468.

Αἰόλος Τπποτάδης *Od.* 10. 2, Αἰόλου μεγαλήτορος *Τπποτάδαι* 10. 36.

Aeolus' cousin. According to the only genealogy we are given, Aeolus is son (by Melanippe, elsewhere daughter of Aeolus) of Hippotes son of Mimas (scholl. Q and V on *Od.* 10. 2, D.S. 4. 67. 3; Mimas son of Aeolus son of Hellen, adds Diodorus' account, heavy-handedly harmonizing with Hesiod's ethnically

schematized genealogy). That is all—Hippotes has no lateral stemma; maybe Stesichorus gave him one. See further on the possibility of Lipara in fr. 25.

To clutch at a straw: named in Virgil's account of the funeral rites of Misenus (see above) is an otherwise unknown Corynaeus (*Aen.* 6. 228-231, there a Trojan, of course): Corynaeum was a promontory on the Erythraean peninsula, in the vicinity of mount Mimas (*Corynaeum Mimantis promunturium*, Plin. *NH* 5. 31. 117). (Our sources make no connexion between Mt. Mimas and Aeolus' grandfather, but given the proximity of Aeolis, coupled with the rareness of the name, we may reasonably infer one. Cf. F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants*, 229.) This does not get us much further forward (beyond obliquely implying that there may be more behind Virgil's *Aeolides* than its poetic aptness for a trumpeter), but it is a suggestive complex.

5-7 The sentence appears to end at 7 cι, though there is no punctuation in evidence there; a high stop could perhaps have been rubbed away. καθ[αρ]αῖς δ' ἐτά|νυcc' ἐπ' ἀι[δ]ηcc|cι would give acceptable sense; ἀι[δ]ηcc|cι, far from assured palaeographically (the dotted letters are only vestigially represented), I would understand in the sense in which the word occurs at Bacchyl. 17. 112, ἄ νιν ἀμφέβαλλ(λ)εν αἰόνα πορφυρέαν. -νυcc(εν) ἐπ' would give more usual metre (cf. e.g. fr. 4. 7-9), though the presence of the breathing (it is not an apostrophe, though it effectively serves the same function) makes it unlikely that the error originates in this copy.

7-8 πυραν δ. [.]α μέμβλε[τ]ο νεκρῶν seems clear enough. As between πυρᾶν and πυρᾶν, I would suppose the former, since one corpse should have only one pyre and πυραῖς is never used of one. For δ. [.]α, I can suggest only δ' ὄ [γ]α: ἄ[ρ]α is not to be read; any lection signs will be lost. An infinitive at the beginning of 8 (e.g. ποιείcθαι would fit space and traces) would take care of πυρᾶν and νεκρῶν. But I have misgivings about μέμβλετο used with the person as subject (rather than in the dative), which Anacr. 65 (μέλομαι ... ἀεῖδεν) does not stifle; but I see no way of restoring οἱ; I would find δ' ἄρα easier, but that would require emendation.

8-9 I see no good alternative to περιμάκας ὄζουc. It seems to be ὄζουc that is written in the margin; so perhaps something else was written in the text (ὄζουc?—in the sense of ὄξυαc?). The next line appears to have something in parallel: -ίας τ' ἐριδα- (with accent on a subsequent syllable); other constructions are of course possible. For -ίας, μ]ελιάς seems compatible with the remains. For ἐριδα- I suggest ἐριδα[νοῦc (*add. lexx.*); ξύλα δανά *Od.* 15. 322. (Theophrastus says that ash is ὑρότατον, *HP* 5. 6. 4, but I dare say that is irrelevant to Stesichorus.) All this will be an elaborate equivalent (unpoetically speaking) of ὕλη, routinely used of pyre material in Homer. At the beginning of 9, a participle? ναήcαιc would suit the space nicely if μελιάc follows.

Thus the proposed text for 7-9 is something on the lines of: -cι πυρᾶν δ' ὄ [γ]α μέμβλε[τ]ο νεκρῶν | [ποιεί]cθαι περιμάκας ὄζουc | [ναήcαιc μ]ελιάc τ' ἐριδα[νοῦc. (We appear to have verse-end at the end of each of the three lines.)

10 If]νέραθ- or]θέραθ-, with another alpha written above, the intention might be to elucidate by supplying an elided vowel, e.g. ἀ]νέρ(α) or αἰ]θέρ(α) (the pyre was raised to heaven?, cf. e.g. *Aen.* 6. 178 *caeloque educere*). But the reading is far from clear. As for what follows θ, the abrasion is too severe to allow possibilities to be confirmed, though some may be excluded (e.g. neither αθαπτ- nor αθρο- is possible, I think).

Fr. 63

2 ἐλπιδ' ὄπωc?

3 θανα[τ]-?

Fr. 64

Paragraphus at (b) 5/6: 1-5 = str. or ant. v-z, 6-9 = ant. or ep. 1-4. But the paragraphus could be a component of an otherwise lost coronis, in which case 1-5 = ep. v-z, 6-9 = str. 1-4; but in view of the enjambement (6 καὶ Λάχεων) triad boundary is perhaps unlikely. If (b) 6 ff. is the beginning of the antistrophe rather than of the epode (it is compatible with the evidence of fr. 65 and 71, as far as that goes; see also on fr. 62 above), it may be that there is responson between the beginning of fr. (a) and the end of fr. (b); either (b) 7 or (b) 8 could respond with (a) 1. On the minimal estimate ((a) 6 same line as (b) 2) that would give a strophe of eight lines; but the distance between (a) and (b) cannot be determined. Fr. 64 (and fr. 65?) could conceivably be from a funeral speech (by the cousin of Aeolus?) to the corpse of fr. 62.

I have scrutinized the fragments for fibre correspondence, but am unable to determine whether or not fr. 64 (or fr. 65) comes from the column succeeding fr. 62.

(a) 1 The final trace limits the options for the word following τόθεν (or e.g. ἐκ|τοθεν), but only to a certain extent: ἀργ-, ἀρμ-, ἀρι- (ἤρι-), ἀρπ- al.; ἀρχ-, for e.g. ἀρχομεν-, perhaps not excluded.

3 The tau is almost certain (not λ): ἐρασιππολ- or ἐρασιππολεμ-, neither attested except the latter as a proper name.

5 Since there are no lection signs, part of ἀγαθός perhaps likelier than ἀγάθεος.

(b). Line beginnings. Moralizing.

2 If the apparent stop is casual, μέ|γα γὰρ πόλις αὔ|, e.g. αὐ|ξάνεται, becomes possible.

3 οὐ π[ο]κ' would be too cramped, I think. ὀπ[ο]κ' would fit well. δ[ι]δοί, δ[ι]ώμι? Either could end the line (and in the latter case the verse), but need not. Q.S. 7. 55 πάντα φέρειν ὀπός' ἐθλὰ διδοί θεός ἦδ' ἀλεγυεῖα.

4-6 For the opening cf. e.g. *Od.* 12. 120 οὐδέ τις ἐστ' ἀλκή, 4. 695 οὐδέ τις ἐστι χάρις, *Hes. Th.* 637, *Op.* 190. ἀρετά nom. is validated by the longum (-âc, -âi, -âv, -âic would presumably be given circumflex instead). Beyond that, the uncertainties are too many. But given that λάχεσιν may be governed by παρά, it may be worth hazarding something on the lines of οὐδέ τις ἐστ' ἀρετὰ (τιμὰ τε) βρο|τῶν παρὰ δαίμονος αἴσαν | καὶ Λάχεσιν. For the thought cf. e.g. *Il.* 20. 242, Simon. *PMG* 526. 1-2 οὔτις ἄνευ θεῶν ἀρετὰν λάβεν, οὐ πόλις, οὐ βροτός.

6-7 τ[ὸ], τ[ὰ] δὲ κα|, ἐc a[-?] E.g. cā|μερόν, or cā|μα ('tomb?'), with μά|λ' ἀριφραδέ|c in 7.

8 πολ|έμου would make a good fit. Then τε or τέλοc?

Fr. 65 col. ii

1-4 = ep. w-z. In no case does enough survive to make it clear whether the line starts off from the longum or from the biceps. The probabilities would seem to be that 2 πεφ| is long (rather than short), that 3 αντ| is long (rather than biceps), and that 4 κατ| is short; that is without taking into account the possibility that fr. 64(b) 1-5 belong to the epode. 5-11 = str. 1-7, presumably in resposion with fr. 71. 2 ff. The combined evidence of the two pieces points to the following line beginnings, but unequivocally only for str. 6: 1 - ∪ ∪, 2 - ∪ ∪, 3 ∪ ∪ ∪, 4 - ∪ ∪, 5 ∪ ∪ ∪, 6 ∪ ∪ ∪. Again, that is without taking fr. 64(b) into account. (All this is premised on the assumption that every line began either - ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪. That is not certain, but there is no counter-indication.)

1 κ|αί would suit, but not uniquely.

5 χαίρ|ε (e.g.), a speech beginning, or a farewell to the corpse?

6 κλει|τ-?, 7 μακα|ρ(-).

Fr. 66 col. i

6 (κα|τ)ἀρχε, ἀρχε? I cannot say whether any accent was written. The continuation is difficult. It is not certain whether or not there was another letter after τερ. If there was, it is strange that no more of it is visible (and elsewhere the metrical sequence - ∪ ∪ ∪ is verse-final, whereas here it would be in synaphea), but the surface is not quite blank (but the sequence - ∪ ∪ ∪ at line end would be metrically unparallelled).

7 (-)έχεν, imperf. or infin.

8 E.g. θερά|ποντα πάν|τ|α? But that is to ignore the first supralineation. And the metre is odd.

9 I am not sure what significance the ink above δ has; it does not appear to be casual. It could be a diastole (in the form of an apostrophe, which our scribe hardly uses), separating -αν δρι-, but that would mean disregarding the apparent stop at the end; it does not particularly suggest ε (for ἀνέρι), though that is perhaps not excluded.

Fr. 67

Though I respect Lobel's join in the transcript, I comment on the two pieces separately.

(a) From the line-up of the initial letters, combined with the metre, it seems fairly likely that this scrap has line beginnings.

2 ἄμα (ἄμαρ|τ- not to be read, I think): the accent distinguishes from ἀμά.

4 Perhaps δαιτόc. If followed by εἰ|ς|ης, the line was that short.

(b) 3 ἄ|μφιβρότ- excluded by the initial trace, I think. Perhaps -|ηφι βρότ|ε|ι-.

4-7 Perhaps ἀργ|υρέων. In 5 χρ| could be χρ|υc- (-έουc?; not the Homeric collocation περὶ χρ|οί, for

a long syllable precedes), and in 6 the word following τηλόθ|ε could be χαλ|κ- cέλαc in 7 might cohere with this (e.g. κάκεοc cέλαc αἰθέρ' ἴκανε, *Il.* 19. 379).

8 ἄλδc or κάλοc ἄρτο? (Or a name, but none attested.)

In the lower margin, -|ονταc ἰδόντ|αc: the latter glossing the former?

Fr. 68

4 θύγατρα, ματραδελφε-, πατρά, etc.

Fr. 69

2 -ωνα κλ- (*Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον Il.* 15. 55) or -ων ἀκλ-.

Fr. 71

On the metre, see on fr. 65 col. ii above.

4 μα|: possible lexical resposion with fr. 65 ii 7 μακα|ρ (str. 3).

Fr. 72

2 The import of the diacritics is not altogether clear. The breve is placed unequivocally over the iota, which seems to imply that αι is not diphthongal (though I would have expected a trema). The longum (which is to be taken as referring to the vowel not the syllable, as invariably with quantity marks) could imply ταχθ- = τηχθ- (i.e. 'from τήκω not τάccω'), but the weak form would be rather unexpected, and the following letter seems to be ο rather than ε (it is definitely not η). So perhaps the articulation is -αιτᾶ χθο|ν-; in which case nothing offers but λαῖτα (priestess of underworld divinities?).

3 τόσαι or -τοc αἰ δλκα(-) would satisfy the remains, if the trace at the base of the anomalous letter before κ may be disregarded (it would have to be taken as a supralineation in the next line); I can do nothing with it as ο (or as ω), given the position of the accent. Or perhaps ἀνᾶλλκ- is to be recognized, with the right-hand side of a hyphen below λ; but the letter after κ does appear to be α, not ε or ι.

7 (Poseidon) χρυσοτρίαν- seems assured, even if the ending cannot be certainly elicited. I think the best reading is -τρη|ια|ν|αι followed by high stop. (I assume -τρίαινα, gen. -α, cf. *Pind.* ἀγλαο-, εὐ-, ὄρκο-.)

9 ἀμβροc-.

Fr. 73

Seemingly line beginnings, and column foot.

2 καὶ καλώ|: the prosody is not revealed.

Fr. 74

2 Αἰόλιδ| seems a possibility worth mentioning, and one which could be brought into connexion with mention of the Strophades in line 4. As the *Πλωταὶ νήσοι* (*Ap. Rh.* 2. 296 f. and schol. ad loc.) the Strophades were placed in the Sea of Sicily (schol. cit. [*Hes. fr.* 156 M-W, *Antim. fr.* 60 Wyss], cf. schol. *Ap. Rh.* 2. 271 [*Pherec.*, *FGHist* 3 F28]), and were even identified with the Aeolian Isles (*Dion. Perieg.* 465)—inevitable given that Aeolus himself lived πλωτῆ| ἐνὶ νήσῳ (*Od.* 10. 3). Cf. fr. 25?

4 Στροφα|δ- a distinct possibility, though not the only one (e.g. ἐπιστροφάδαν, *τροφαλι-*). Mythologically the Strophades belong to the Boreads' pursuit of the Harpies: we have them in Argonautic saga (*Ap. Rh.* 2), and imported into the wanderings of Aeneas (*Virg. Aen.* 3). (Archaic harpies and winds are quite closely related, and Homer's Aeolus is ταμίης ἀνέμων, but I do not imagine that was exploited by Stesichorus.) See also prec. n.

Fr. 81

3 Perhaps ἦδη, line-end.

II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

3877-3901. THUCYDIDES i-iv

Drawn together under these numbers are all the remaining fragments of the first four books of Thucydides' *Histories* so far identified in the Egypt Exploration Society's holdings. There are remnants of twenty-five manuscripts: all written on papyrus, all but one from rolls; none earlier than the first century, none later than the third; none with any very considerable run of text.

A predictable handful of new readings appear, none very startling. One accords with a generally accepted emendation of Stahl's, iii 95. 1 *ξυστρατεύσειν* (3896 fr. 1 col. ii 4 *p.c.*), others, in unsuspected places, will at least have to receive consideration: i 30. 3 *ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο* not *-εύοντο* (3879 fr. 2 col. ii 7-8); i 37. 5 different word order (3879 fr. 3 col. iii 8-9); i 62. 6 *ἄλλων* without article (3880 fr. 2. 21); i 91. 3 *Θεμιστοκλῆς* without article (3884 3); *ib.* *ἀπαγγέλλοντες* not *ἀγγέλλοντες* (3884 12); ii 11. 7 om. *ἐν* (3885 fr. 3 ↓ 13); ii 13. 1 different word order (3885 fr. 4 → col. i 6); *ib.* *ῥέστιν* not *εἶη*, and *γεγένηται* not *γένοιτο* (3885 fr. 4 → col. i 7); ii 19. 2 *ἔτεμον* not *ἔτεμνον* (3877 fr. 2 col. i 2); *ib.* om. *Ἀθηναίων* (3877 fr. 2 col. i 4-5); ii 75. 6 *ῥῆος* without article (3888 col. i 17); iii 16. 2 *ἀπὸ* not *ὑπὸ* (3891 col. i 4); iii 98. 5 add. *τε* after *περί* (3897 12); iv 25. 6 add. *ἐν* before *τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ* (3899 2); iv 68. 2 *ῥέπεπτικώτων* not *προς-* (3900 col. ii 5); iv 69. 2 different word order (?), and add. *αὐτοῦ* before *τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας* (3900 col. iv 1-3); cf. also 3879 fr. 1 col. ii 6 and 11 ff., fr. 2 col. ii 4-6, fr. 3 col. i 11-12, 3880 fr. 1. 7 and 3895 fr. 2 col. i 5.

Excluded from this list are new readings in the previously published fragments of 3885, and matters best classed as orthographica, such as *εαυτους* where the medieval manuscripts offer *αδτους* and editors *αδτους*. Other readings lost to the medieval tradition, obvious scribal errors excluded, are found at 3879 fr. 1 col. i 14-15 (additional phrase), fr. 3 col. i 10-11 (beyond certain recovery, substantial?), 3880 fr. 2. 15 (different preposition), 3884 10 (different spelling of proper name), 3885 fr. 3 ↓ 18 (definite article), 3887 fr. 2. 5 (different spelling of proper name as v.l.), 3891 col. i 6, 9 (om. *καί bis*), col. ii 9 (different prefix), 3892 5 (*τε* not *δέ*), 3898 7 (definite article), 3900 col. iii 25 (copying error?). But these I think must be false.

Where the medieval tradition is divided, neither of its two main 'families' (c and b) finds preponderance of support. This is old news. It is nowadays thought that while both derive from a common source (Θ) the b-family owes its distinctiveness to collation with another source (A), and it seems that each has claim to about equal respect, inasmuch as each reflects an unremarkable ancient instantiation of the text. (By 'unremarkable' I mean such as the papyri habitually exemplify; and 'instantiation' seems a more appropriate term than 'tradition,' let alone 'recension' or 'edition.') More interesting are the occasional agreements with individual manuscripts or with obscurer parts of the medieval tradition, the precise nature of whose access to otherwise lost ancient material is still being worked out. Two of the texts show a coincidence apiece with F: 3885 fr. 4 → col. i 13 is without the reflexive *οἱ* at ii 13. 1, 3891 col. ii 9-10 gives *ἀπαται* at iii 17. 4 (*ἀπάται* F, *αἱ πάται* rell.); the first is certainly in error, and the second may be too (editors print *αἱ πάται*, but I should have thought *ἀπαται* could be right). Another offers an estimable but generally rejected reading carried only by Ud and scholiastically attested by Pl: at i 3. 3 *ὑστερος* 3878 7 *a.c.*, *ὑστερον p.c.* with codd. Another shares with apparently different *recentiores* the distinction of being free from two long-recognized corruptions which are common to the major manuscripts: 3900 col. ii 21 *ἄλλο* not *ἄλλοι* at iv 68. 4, col. iii 10 om. *οἱ* at iv 68. 5. Another has an *a.c.* agreement in error with the extra-archetypal Pm (which gives only ii 75-78): 3888 col. i 7 *τὸ* for *τοῦ* at ii 75. 5. This is not to say that these various readings are all inherited in the later manuscripts in which they appear, for they could be independent corruptions or corrections; but the possibility is not to be discounted.

On suspect passages the papyri here published have little light to throw, beyond their usually confirming the antiquity of the transmitted text. The one supported conjecture has been mentioned. Interpolations, actual or suspected, tend to be present: i 91. 3 *κελεύων* (3884 5), ii 11. 6 *οὔτω* and 11. 8 *τῶν* (3885 fr. 3 ↓ 1 and 24), ii 16. 1 *μετείχον* (3886 16), iii cap. 17 present in 3891, cf. also i 3. 2 *ἐδύνατο* (3878 5, om. GM); that hardly advances the matter. Similarly with other kinds of supposed corruption: ii 15. 5 *ἐκείνη* (3886 2, *ἐκείνοι* Bekker), cf. i 9. 3 *τε* (3879 fr. 1 col. i 4; likewise at i 37. 2, 3879 fr. 3 col. ii 6), i 74. 1 no *τῶν* (3882 iii 21); at i 37. 5 an accent protects *τοσῶδε* in 3879 (fr. 3 col. iii 7). More significant, because not likely to spread by collation, are lacunae: textual loss has been postulated at i 3. 3 (3878 8-9) and at i 73. 2 (3882 ii 24; cf. also i 74. 1, 3882 iii 21): in each case the papyrus attests the given text.

For manuscript readings in bks. i-ii I have relied mainly on Alberti's edition (Rome 1972), though Luschnat's Teubner (ed. 2, 1960) and others have also been consulted, much supplementary information being derived from Hude's 1898 'editio maxima.' For bks. iii-iv reliance is fundamentally upon Hude, except that for the *recentiores* I have used the 1942 OCT (apparatus revised by Enoch Powell) and the Budé (1967, Weil and de Romilly), as well as other works. 'Kleinlogel' refers to A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965). Sigla: c = CG, b = ABEFM (+Z where extant). The damaged physical state and hybrid textual

nature of G make for particular difficulty, but it appears not to be wholly worthless as a Θ witness; where G's reading is lost but recovered from recc. this is indicated by <G> and the siglum **c** is not employed.

Comprehensive accounts of the manuscript tradition are offered by O. Luschnat, *RE Suppl.* XII (1970) 1311–25, and by G. B. Alberti in the *praefatio* to his edition, pp. ix–clxxxviii. These are mutually independent texts. Luschnat's account was reviewed by Alberti, *AR N.S.* 20 (1975) 1–14, in a survey of recent work, and Alberti's by Kleinlogel in *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 753–73 (cf. Luschnat, *RE Suppl.* XIV [1974] 780–3), responded to by Alberti in *AR N.S.* 25 (1980) 15–22. The discussion at XI 1376 though in some respects outdated is still instructive (it must of course be borne in mind that for bks. i–iv the medieval tradition is not so rich as in later books, thanks to B's source-switch in bk. vi and H's in bk. vii); cf. also W. Eberhardt, *Gymn.* 67 (1960) 209–23. Post-Pack² papyri are listed at P. Yale II 99; there may now be added PSI inv. 1862 (*Trenta testi greci da papiri letterari e documentari* no. 7) and P. Berol. 21287 (*Archiv* 34 [1988] 10 f.). I am grateful to Professor D. M. Lewis for some comments on details and to Professor Alberti for information on manuscript readings in iv 68.

3877. THUCYDIDES i 2, ii 19–21, iii 82

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Fr. 1 27 3B.41/H(1–3)c | 4.0 × 11.6 cm | Early second century |
| Fr. 2 102/Jan 18 | fr. (a) 8.7 × 16.5 cm | |
| Fr. 3 19 2B.76/C(2)a | 6.3 × 7.8 cm | |

Alone among the fragments published in this volume, the pieces gathered here are written on the back of a document (or documents). They were not found together (there are three different inventory numbers) but have been brought together on the basis of their handwriting, a medium-sized informal round hand, rather ungainly and irregular, with occasional ligatures ($\epsilon\iota$, $\omega\nu$, $\alpha\nu$), probably to be assigned a date early in the second century. The rounded α is usually straightbacked except when ligatured or line-final; μ is deep-bowed; ϵ is made in three strokes; the cross-bar of ν meets its right hasta at about midpoint; verticals are often given a rightward curve at the foot. XXV 2435 is an earlier example of the same type of hand, cf. XXXVI 2752, XXIII 2377; XLII 3030, dated no earlier than AD 207, is more delicate, formal and ornamental, and certainly later, but makes an instructive comparison; for more cursive examples see XXXVI 2757 (after AD 79) and 2777 (c. AD 212). Of the document(s) on the front there are only broken and indeterminate remains (fr. 1. 10] ἀπέδωκ[-, fr. 3. 2 κ]αθηκόντων β[), but the hand seems to be the same on all the pieces; it is comparable to e.g. P. Cornell 7 and belongs around the end of the first century.

The fragments come from widely separated places in Thucydides' work: from the prooemium, from the account of the initial invasion of Attica in bk. 2, and from the famous description of the demoralizing effects of stasis in bk. 3. There is a chance that this manuscript was not a continuous text of the *Histories* but a series of extracts,

ἐκλογαί; cf. XIII 1621, a collection of speeches from bk. 3; two of the passages were fastened on by Dion. Hal. (*de Thuc.* 25, quoting i 1–2; 29–33, quoting from iii 82–83; cf. 18, quoting from ii 22). But there can be no certainty: we may simply have the remnants of three separate rolls, one for each book.

Column height may be estimated at c. 23 cm, occupied by about thirty lines; column width will have been c. 7.5 cm, with an intercolumnium of 1.5–2 cm. Upper margin at least 3 cm, lower at least 4. Iota adscript not usually applied. Perhaps a two-grade punctuation system: high point by itself to mark light stop (fr. 2 i 16, cf. fr. 1. 8, fr. 3 ii 3), high point plus paragraphus to mark heavy. $\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota$ (i.e. $\tau\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$) so written at fr. 1. 12: a diacritical use of accentuation.

A new reading is offered at fr. 2 i 2, and another may be inferred at fr. 2 i 5. In fr. 1 the text overlaps P. Hamb. 163 (*IT*³²), a manuscript of the mid-3rd cent. BC which carries a text markedly different from the paradosis (though it finds a reflex in H); in the two or three places where concordance can be tested, 3877 is in agreement with the later manuscripts against the Ptolemaic one; evidently the text had become to some extent stabilized by the Roman period. Agreement with **b** against **c** at fr. 2 i 9.

Fr. 1

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--------|
| |] και δι[| |
| | αυτο ουτε μεγε]θει πολ[ε | |
| | ων ιχθυον ουτε τ]η αλλη . [| |
| | μαλις]α δε της[| i 2. 3 |
| 5 | γης η αριστη αι]ει ταις μεταβ[ο | |
| | λαις των οικη]τορων ειχεν' [η | |
| | τε νυν θεσσ]αλια καλουμ[ε | |
| | νη και βοιωτι]α' πελοπονν[η | |
| | κου τε τα πολ]λα πλην αρκα[| |
| 10 | διας' της τε αλλ]ης οσα ην κρα[| |
| | τιστα' δια γαρ α]ρετην γης [αι | 2. 4 |
| | τε δυναμει]ς τις μειζου[ε | |
| | ενγιγνομεν]αι στασεις εν[ε | |
| | ποιουν εξ ων] εφθειροντ[ο' | |

Fr. 1

The line divisions offered in the transcription are only *exempli gratia*.

3–4 τ]η αλλη . [. The paradosis is τῆ ἄλλη παρασκευῆ (codd. and Greg. Cor.). But *IT*³², a manuscript some three or four centuries earlier than this one (for the date, c. 250 BC, see *JHS* 76, 1956, 96–98; plate in Turner, *GMAW* 54), has not παρασκευῆ but διανοίαι, and this reading is not quite lost to the medieval tradition, for it is found as a *v.l.* in H (Par. gr. 1734), entered by the hand which here as elsewhere in H gives access to ancient readings not otherwise represented in the medieval tradition (see Kleinlogel 10–40).

Our papyrus has a single scanty trace: the left-hand side of an apparent horizontal, at letter-top level or slightly below. It is perfectly appropriate for π (a shade lower than would have been expected, perhaps). δ cannot be quite ruled out, but the apparent direction of the trace is not very suitable, and one might have expected the left base of the letter to be visible. Considerations of space, too, though not decisive, favour παρασκευῆ against the shorter διανοία.

5-6 ταις μεταβ[ο]λαις(?): τὰς μεταβολὰς codd. The papyrus is damaged above, but there is the foot of an upright between α and ε (both of which are virtually certain).

7 νῦν Θεεσ]αλία: ordine inverso P³².

8 The stop underscores the articulation textually expressed by the τε's.

8-9 Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ with codd. (single ν in C and M) and Syrianus: Πελοπόννησός [τε P³².

12 τίσι. The accent distinguishes from τίσι.

Fr. 2

col. ii

(c) τ]μηθη[ν]αι[·] επειδη ουν α[ν]τω 20. 3
 ες ελεξειν[α] και το θριασι[ν] πεδι
 ον [ου]κ απηνητησαν[] πει[ραν] εποι
 ειτο πε[ρ]ι τας αχ[αρ]νας καθημε
 5 ρος ει επεξιασι· [αμα] μεν γαρ αυ 20. 4
 τω ο χωρος επ[ι]τηδειος εφαινε
 τ[ο] ενστρα]τοπ[εδευσαι]

col. i

(a)] βασιλ[ευς·
 και καθεζομενοι ε]τεμον πρω 20. 2
 τον μεν ελευσεινα] και το θρια[σι
 ον πεδιον και τροπ]ην τινα [των
 5 ?ιππεων περι τους ρ]ειτους κ[αλου
 μενους εποησαντ]ο[·] ε]πειτα [προε
 χωρου εν δεξια εχον]τε[ς] το αι
 γαλεων ορος δια] κρωπιας ε[ως
 αφικοντο ες αχα]ρνας χωρον με
 10 γιστον της αττικ]ης των δημων
 καλουμενων] και καθεζομε
 νοι ες αυτον στρ]ατοπεδον τε ε
 ποιησαντο χρον]ον τε πολυν
 20. 1 15 εμμειναντες ετ]εμνον· γνω
 μη δε τοιαδε λεγετα]ι τον αρχι
 (b) δ[αμον] περι τε τας αχα]ρνας· ως
 ε[ς] μαχην ταξαμενον μειν]αι
 και ε[ς] το πεδιον εκεινη τη εσβο
 λη ου [καταβηναι· τους γαρ] αθη 20. 2 20

c. 5 lines gone

.
 ε]πεξελθο]ιεν εκεινη τη εσβο
 10 λη οι αθη]ναιοι αδεεστερον
 ηδη ες τ[ο] υ[στερον] το πεδιον
 τεμειν κ[αι] προς αυτην την
 πολιν χωρη]σεσθαι· τους γαρ
 20. 1 15 αχαρνας ε[ς]τερημενους των
 σφετερων [ουχ] ομοιωσ προθυ
 μουσ ες[εσθαι] υπερ της των αλ
 λων κ[ινδυνευειν]· στασι δε
 εν· ε[ς] θ[αι] τη γνωμη· τοιαυτη
 20. 2 20 μεν δ[ιανοια] ο αρχιδαμος περι
 τας α[χαρ]νας ην· αθηναιοι δε με 21. 1

20 να]ι[ου]ς

χρη [μεν] ου περι ελευσεινα και
 το [θριασιον] πεδιον ο στρατος
 η[ν]

(d)]...[.]...[
]...[.]...[
]τικ[.]...[
]αυ[.]...[.]...[

(a) is the main fragment, with remains of both columns (i 1-6 on a detached but touching scrap); (b) gives the beginnings of i 16 ff., (c) the top of col. ii. Slight traces of a few line-ends of the preceding column are visible on (a) to the left of i 15-19, none identifiable. (d) is not certainly placed; I think the likeliest placement is 18. 5, i.e. 3-4] τι κα[ι] κατοκησειν περιδεν] αυτην [, though I have difficulty reconciling the traces of ll. 1-2 with the given text; if that is right it will come from the column preceding col. i.

col. i

1-8 The precise point at which the lines break is not always certain.

2 ε]τεμον: ετεμων codd. (ετεμων τὰ ενεδρα E). The aorist seems as acceptable as the imperfect here, as it would not be in 14.

3 ελευσεινα]: I restore this spelling on the basis of ii 2, where the reading is not assured but better than -σινα.

4-5 There is not enough room for all of the transmitted τῶν Αθηναίων ἰππέων περὶ τοὺς Ρεῖτους. The possibilities seem to be: (a) absence of αθηναίων (so transcribed); (b) absence of ἰππεων; (c) inadvertent omission of ριτους before ρειτους (it does seem to be ρ]ειτους that is written, rather than ρ]ητους ('Ρητους E) or πε]ρι τους). Considerations of space perhaps favour (a), though not definitively. So the question arises whether Αθηναίων may be an intrusive gloss in the tradition.

8 κρωπιας: so b (Κρωπιάς M γρ. G¹, Κρωπείας ABF, Κρωπείας E); but κε]κρωπιας cannot be excluded (Κεκρωπείας C, Κεκρωπείας G); it is not certain just where the 7/8 line-break occurred.

9 χώρον with b: χωρίον c.

14 G's ἐμμένοντες not excluded.

16 The stop is a little unexpected (was it accompanied by another after 17 ταξάμενον?) but virtually certain; no paragraphus at line beginning.

19/20 Any paragraphus will have been lost.

Probably four lines lost from the foot of the column.

col. ii

5 -σι rather than -σι· perhaps not quite excluded, but there is a trace above the line just as the papyrus breaks off which I would take to be a high stop.

7/8 The estimate of lines lost is based on the transmitted text and cannot be physically confirmed. No light is thrown on the notorious τρισχίλιοι in 20. 4.

8 Perhaps π]αγτας [ες] μαχην· ει τε και μη.

11 A trema on υ[στερον] may have been lost.

The papyrus may have had τε between το and πεδιον, as C; considerations of space perhaps marginally favour the shorter text.

12 προς: ες C, not excluded, though again considerations of space seem rather against it.

13 C is without γάρ, but its absence from the papyrus would leave the line short.

18 ἐνεεσθαι codd. After εν in the papyrus, badly damaged traces compatible with the expected ες, then θ[could equally well be read as ε[], but I take it that the supralinear ες, which may be by another hand, is correcting a haplographic ενεσθαι.

21 οδ C<G> E: οδν ABFM, not excluded.

Fr. 3

col. i

] τοις
 νεωτεριζειν τι βουλο]με
 νοις εποριζοντο· και επε]πε iii 82. 2
 σε πολλα και χαλεπα κατ]α
 5 στασιν ταις πολεσι γιγνο]με

col. ii

3 φιλεταιρ]οι: Hude reports ABC as writing φιλαίτερος.
 5 The sign is not quite clear. A cancelled paragraphus?

col. ii

λ[α]ξαν τη[ι] δικ[αιωσει· τολ 82. 4
 μα μεν γαρ αλ[ογιστος αν
 δρεια φιλεταιρ]οι εννομισθη·
 μελλησις δε προμηθησ· δει
 5 λια ευπρεπη]σ·

3878. THUCYDIDES i 3

10 1B.162/G(b)

5 × 5 cm

Second century

A scrap written in a neat small-to-medium, upright, lightly decorated script with a close resemblance to that of XXXIV **2683** (*Gospel according to Matthew*), which is assigned to the latter half of the second century. The style has affinity not only with the likes of VIII **1082**, which is practically without ornamentation, but also with the decorated style and e.g. XXX **2527** (with which cf. in turn XVII **2076** and XV **1809** = Turner, *GMAW* 18 and 19). XXXII **2628** (delicate and bilinear) may be compared, and so may XIII **1622**, a Thucydides manuscript whose back was used for a document in AD 148. **1622** is no doubt earlier, but a date around or even before the middle of the second century may perhaps be indicated for **3878** and (what is of more moment) for **2683**.

Column width by calculation c. 9 cm. Inconsistent use of iota adscript. Elision unmarked. Back blank.

The fragment presents one reading otherwise known only from the scholia (see on 7). What is probably a second hand has entered the transmitted reading: so the text was collated.

] . [. . .] . [.
 ωφελ]ια ες τας α[λ
 λας πολεις· καθ εκαστους μεν η]δ[η] τηι ομιλ]ι
 αι μαλλον καλεισθαι ελλη]νας· ου [μεν

5 τοι πολλου γε χρονου ε]δυνατο και [απα
 σιν εκνικησαι· τ]εκμηριδι δε μαλις[τα i 3. 3
 ομηρος· πολλωι γ]αρ υστερο]ς ετι κα[ι
 των τρωικων γενο]μενος ουδαμου [·
 τους ξυμπαντας ανομασεν ο]υδ αλλοις η [·
 10 τους μετα αχιλλεωσ εκ της φ]θιωτιδ]οι

The line divisions are *exempli gratia*.

3 The supplement seems too long by perhaps three or four letters: om. μέν?

5 ἐδύνατο M⁺ recc. schol. Θ: ἡδύνατο AB EF C⁺: om. G M. The papyrus shares an apparent interpolation that did not succeed in permeating the medieval tradition. (The evidence of C is lost, the first few leaves being more recent: C⁺ Alberti = c, Luschnat.) There is no telling whether it had ε or η.

7 ὑστερον codd.: ὑστερος Ud γρ. Pl₁ (γρ. schol. Θ Alberti, but see Kleinlogel, *Gnomon* 49, 1977, 766), the Pl-scholium reporting it ἐν ἐτέρῳ; for relics of lost ancient tradition in the so-called ψ-recension see Kleinlogel, *Geschichte*, 47–111, esp. 91 ff., cf. Alberti, *praef.* lxxvi–lxxix. Modern editors all print ὑστερον, but (like the scholiast, who comments καὶ καλῶς γέγραπται) I should have thought that ὑστερος was more probably right. For corruption to the adverb cf. e.g. i 91. 5, vii 27. 2, ii 55. 2, iii 22. 3 (*primi* Valla), iv 87. 6, vi 3. 1; the use of the adjective is well paralleled at i 14. 1, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὑστερα γεγόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν, cf. ii 54. 3.

8 Post οὐδαμοῦ add. οὕτω Reiske ('sic' Valla), with approval of Alberti, Luschnat and others. No room for οὕτω in the papyrus. There is now some transmissional difficulty in postulating the loss; at all events, it can no longer be attributed to an error of a postulated medieval archetype.

3879. THUCYDIDES i 9–10, 30, 36–39

112/58

Fr. 1 7.8 × 15.8 cm

Early second century

Remains of a total of eight columns, backs blank, written in a plain upright and very rounded medium-sized hand somewhat reminiscent of the Hyperides papyrus (P. Lit. Lond. 132, Roberts, *GLH* 13b) and assignable to the first half of the second century, if not to the end of the first; similar in style is the documentary PSI IX 1062 (Norsa, *Scrittura*, tav. 11b), dated AD 103/4; the later script of XVIII **2159** etc. (Turner, *GMAW* 24) may also be compared. Column width c. 6 cm, occupied by c. 14–18 letters, column height by calculation c. 30 cm, occupied by c. 40–42 lines, inter-columnium c. 2 cm; lower margin at least 4.3 cm. There is evidence of a sheet-join at the left of fr. 3(a), and of another at the left of fr. 3(b): the sheet (*kollema*) was apparently only 13 cm wide. A further sheet-join runs down fr. 1 ii.

An apparently three-grade punctuation system is used: low stop is clear at fr. 1 i 5, and middle and high stops seem to be distinct (middle: fr. 1 i 8, 16; 3 ii 3, iv 7; high: fr. 1 i 11; 3 iii 14; the distinction is effaced in the transcript printed below). The low stop and more surprisingly at least two of the middle stops (fr. 3 ii 3, iv 7) are unattended by the paragraphus, which is in evidence only at fr. 3 iii 11/12; consistency of correlation (paragraphus always and only with high stop?) cannot be verified. Other

lectional aids, all apparently entered by the first hand, are applied with economy and discrimination: accents signalling enclitics and otherwise disambiguating (είτω fr. 1 i 15, τοσῶδε fr. 3 iii 7, αφεσῶτε fr. 3 iii 15, cf. also fr. 1 i 6); diastole (perhaps with syntactical rather than lexical function: fr. 3 iii 11); trema, as conventionally, on initial ι (fr. 1 i 5, 15; presumably υ too, not in evidence); apostrophe (δ' twice, fr. 3 ii 3, iii 14, elsewhere δε). Iota adscript is normally not written (but is at fr. 3 iv 6, 7). A dash is used as a line-filler at fr. 3 iii 9. There is no clear evidence of a second hand; textual amendments made at fr. 3 iii 5, 8, iv 10, may be due to the scribe himself, correcting his copying errors.

The papyrus presents a number of discrepancies from the text given by the medieval manuscripts: a new phrase in 9. 3 (fr. 1 i 14-5, ἐν νεῶν κα[ταλόγ]ω), a difference of tense in 30. 3 (fr. 2 ii 7-8), a difference of word order in 37. 5 (fr. 3 iii 8-9), as well as differences beyond certain recovery in 10. 2 (fr. 1 ii 6, 11 ff.) and apparently more substantial discrepancy in 36. 3 (fr. 3 i 10 ff.); cf. also on fr. 2 ii 4 ff., fr. 3 iv 10. The first is presumably an interpolated gloss rather than a textual loss in the tradition; with the rest the case is not so clear. The papyrus confirms the antiquity of the difficult τε in 9. 3 (fr. 1 i 4; likewise in 37. 2, fr. 3 ii 6), writes στρατεία rightly *ibid.* (fr. 1 i 6, but wrongly at fr. 2 ii 5), and reinforces the transmitted τοσῶδε in 37. 5 (fr. 3 iii 7). Where the manuscript tradition is split, neither family finds constant support.

Fr. 1

col i

ζους καταστηνα[ι· α μοι
δοκει αγαμεμνων
παραλαβων και ναυ
τικω τε αμα επι πλε
5 ον των αλλων ισχυσας.
την στρατειαν ου χαριτι
το πλεον η φοβω ξυν
αγαγων ποιησασθαι
φαινε[τ]αι γαρ ναυς[ι] τε
10 π]λεισταις αυτος αφι
κ]ομενος· και αρκας[ι]
π]ροσπαρασχων ως ο

19. 3

col. ii

.
]. [
.]ε. [
κλεος αυ]τω[ν ειναι και
(10. 2)
τοι προ]λοπ[οννησου
των πεν]τε τ[α δυο μοι
5 ρας νε]μοντα[ι
της τε ξυ]μπα[σης ηγουν
ται και των εξ]ω ξυμ
μαχων πολ[λων· ομω

μη]ρος τουτο δεδη
λωκεν] εν νεων κα
15 ταλογ]ω ει τω ικ[α]νος
τεκμ]ηριωσαι· κα[ι εν
9. 4 του ε]κηπητ[ρου
10 δ]ε ου[τε] ξυνοι[κιθει
.]. [.] . . . [
[.] ρη. [
[.] [
.]. [.] . . . [
.]

Fr. 1 col. i

1/2 I see no sign of a paragraphos, but it may have been lost.

4 τε: so codd., except Pg, which is without it: most editors emend (by deletion or otherwise).

6 στρατειαν: definitely -ειαν (as edd. and Pb, -ειαν; cf. Stahl, *Quaest. Gramm.*², 40 f.) not -ιαν (as codd. vett., -ιαν), but there is some supralineation, heavy and difficult to decipher, conceivably a grave accent on α crossed through and an acute on ει substituted; the ε itself appears to be untouched. Cf. fr. 2 ii 5, and XI 1376 (P¹⁸) 17 (i 55. 1).

7 πλείον codd. vett.

8/9 A paragraphos may have been lost.

14-15 ἐν νεῶν κα[ταλόγ]ω is new. The same phrase in the tradition at 10. 4. A stop may have been lost after]ω.

col. ii

Most of the ink is lost to abrasion.

1-2 Perhaps τ]ο[πολλου χρονου | το]ι[ε] επι]ει[τα προς το.

5-6 μοίρας: δυνάμεις Ga.c.

6 The papyrus must have had something different from the known text, for line 6 cannot have been so short. It is not clear whether or not the discrepancy is confined to the latter part of 6, but 5]των, which effectively guarantees the vestigially represented πεντε, and 6]ρας, and hence μοι]ρας, are fairly secure. The possibility of a textual variant must be reckoned with. νέμονται και?

9 ομω: ὁμοίως G¹ in marg., less suitable for the space.

11 ff. Abrasion has got rid of most of the ink, but slight as they are I cannot square the remains with the text as transmitted, with or without the addition of τῆς after ξυνοικισθείσης. That text goes: ὁμω δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης <τῆς> (add. Pd, iam Stephanus) πόλεως οὔτε ἰερούς καὶ κατασκευαίς πολυτελέει χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνουτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα, κτλ. One could suppose that the scribe inadvertently skipped from ξυνοικισθείσης to οἰκισθείσης a few lines below, but this does not seem to help. I find no fully satisfactory reading deploying the elements of the paradosis. If]ρη. [in 12 is χρη[αμενης, which the traces hardly suggest but perhaps do not exclude, πολ[ω]ς(?)] οὔτε χρη[αμενης | κατα]σκευαίς πολ[υτελεει is the least unsatisfactory reading I can extract; closer to the transmitted word order would be] οὔτε]εραίς (for -οις) [και | κατα]σκευαίς, or (abandoning 12) οὔτε ιε]ροίς και κατα]σκευαίς for 13; but none of these is really commended by the traces. At all events, though the truth may be more mundane, the possibility is raised that the manuscript tradition has lost more than just τῆς after ξυνοικισθείσης.

12 In the margin (at least, it is the margin if I have rightly located the line-beginnings, which is not altogether certain) is a vertical stroke, broken above, possibly by the scribe's hand; what bearing it may have on the text I cannot say.

Fr. 2

| | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---|----------------------|---------|
| | | | col. ii | |
| | | | ...]. [| |
| | | | ...]. [| |
| | | | ...]. [| |
| | | | ψα]ντ[εσ ναυς και | (30. 3) |
| | | 5 | στρατε[ιαν επει σφων | |
| col. i | | | οι ξυμ[μα]χοι [επο | |
| | | | νουν εστρατο[πεδευ | |
| | | | σαντο επι ακτ[ιω και | |
| | κερ]κυρας (30. 1) | | περι το χειμερ[ιον | |
| | ακρωτηριω το]υς | | της θεσπρωτιδ[ος | 10 |
| | μεν αλλους ο]υς ελα | | φυλακης ενεκ[α της | |
| | βον αιχμαλωτ]ους | | τ[ε] λευκαδος κ[αι | |
| 5 | | | | |

Fr. 2 col. i

1 κερ]κυρας: not in itself a secure reading, but at all events not]κυρας: *Κερκύρας* **b**, *Κερκυραίος* **c**.

col. ii

1-3 Vestigial, unassignable.

4 ff. Lines 4 and 6 as reconstructed both look a bit on the short side, but perhaps not enough to warrant postulating longer text (4 ναὺς τε and 6 [σφών are easily enough thought of, but line 5 without σφών would be left a bit short in turn, unless επειδη there).

5 στρατε[ιαν with C<G>M, wrongly, not -ιαν (ABEF).

7-8 ἐστρατο[πεδευ]|σαντο: ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο codd. The reading of the papyrus is in little doubt. The medieval tradition preserves the same tense variation for the previous main verb (ἔφθειρον **b**, ἔφθειραν C<G>), and of course often elsewhere. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο is not necessarily implied for the papyrus in the next sentence (30. 4, -εύοντο codd.), for the text would make good sense with the aorist here and the imperfect there.¹

Calculation from the transmitted text indicates a loss of seven columns between fr. 2 ii and fr. 3 i.

¹ Incidentally, in the light of Thucydidean usage elsewhere it may be suspected that ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο not ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο is to be read at i 62. 1, iv 125. 1 and vii 47. 2.

Fr. 3

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------|--------|------------------------|
| | | | col. i | |
| (a) | θεν ναυτικον ερασαι | (36. 2) | | |
| | πελοποννησιους επε[λ | | | |
| | θειν το τε εν]θεν | | | |
| | δε προς τακει παρα | | | col. ii |
| 5 | πεμψαι] και εκ ταλλα | | | |
| |] traces | | | ξ[υμμαχιαν δια το σω |
| |] traces | | | φρ[ο]ν ουδενο[σ πω δ]ε |
| |] traces | 36. 3 | | ξασθαι το δ' ε[πι κα |
| | πασι κα]ι κ[αθ] εκαστον | | | κουργιαι και [ουκ αρε |
| 10 |].....οιςθε | | | τη επε[τ]ηδευς[αν ξυμ |
| |]...[...].ρια | 5 | | μαχον τε ουδ[ενα |
| | ...].τοις.[...].σιλ[.] | | | βουλομενοι π[ροσ |

Fr. 3

(a) and (b) do not join but (b) preserves what I have taken to be the last letter of ii 2, δ]ε. There is a sheet-join at this point, so no fibre continuity can be traced between the two pieces. That (b) gives the feet of cols. iii-iv is not quite certain, for the papyrus is broken below, but the space below iii 17 is a little greater than the normal interlinear space, and appropriate column height results.

Col. i is badly abraded except at line ends, and much of the transcript is enabled only by the medievally transmitted text, the line ends serving as a control.

3 There are in fact a few traces remaining of the earlier part of the line, but they are quite unassignable.

3-4 ἐν]θενδε with **b**: ἐντεῦθεν **c**.

4 τακει: τα εκει excluded.

5 ταλλα **c**, τὰ ἄλλα **b**. The individual letters are hardly determinable, but ταλλα seems to fit the space better.

6-8 Nearly all the ink has gone, and the only identifications that can even tentatively be made are ξυμ at the end of 8. But there is nothing inconsistent with a presumption that the text of these lines ran, in accordance with the transmitted text, something like: |ξυμφορωτατον εσ|τιν· βραχυτατω δ αν κε|φαλαιω τοις τε ξυμ|.

10-12 Here the papyrus evidently had something different from the paradosis, which goes: τῶδ' (τῶδε rec., τὸδ' AC) ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε· τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ναυτικά, κτλ. At the end of 11 τρια makes an acceptable reading, and in 12 τοις ε[λ]λησι; and the letter before τοις is either α or λ. This leads to τρία | [δντ]α τοῖς Ἑ[λ]λησι λ[ό]γου ἄξια ναυτικά (unless [ἄξι]α not [δντ]α after τρία)—a text different from ours, but (as usual) not dramatically so: word order, no μὲν.

But what stood in 10-11? In 10, up to οισθε the ink is nearly all gone. Just before ο are two specks just off the line, close to each other and to ο, and at some distance to the left is an apparent vertical; the traces before that are minimal if not illusory. ο itself could just possibly be ε, θ, or σ. In 11 the first surviving traces could be μα; neither ημασ nor μαθοιτε excluded. The papyrus text cannot be squared with the paradosis without forcing: π[ρ]οεισθε *l. προέσθαι*: the traces are suitable enough for π[ρ]ο, but -εισθε for -εσθαι is an unlikely error in a text such as this. Nor does προείσθαι (perf.) commend itself. -οισθε, then. τοῖς

θεοῖς unpromising, and -οἰθε looks like an optative—(1) a variant on μάθοιτε? But what, and where then do μή προέσθαι ἡμᾶς go? (2) προοίθε seems more tractable. A repunctuation is conceivable: τῶδ' ἂν μή προοίθε ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε τρία κτλ. Likelier, I think, is τῶδ' ἂν μή προοίθε | ἡμᾶς μαθόντες, κτλ.—*lectio facilior?* But this can only be speculative.

col. ii

6 τε with codd. and Syrianus: γε Herwerden.

col. iii

(b) ε]χωσι (37. 4)

ην δε που τι προλ]αβωσιν

αναισχυντωσι καιτ]οι 37. 5

ει ησαν ανδ]ρες ω[ς]

5 περ φασι]ν αγαθοι οσοι

αληπτοτεροι ησαν

τοισ πελας τοσῶδε

φαν[αι] ε'ρωτεραν αυτοις

εξην την αρετην δι-

10 δουσι και δεχομενοι

τα δικαγια) δεικνυ[ν]αι[·

αλλ ουτε προς τους αλ 38. 1

λους ουτε ες ημας

τοιουδε ειςιν' αποικοι δ'

15 οντε]ς αφεσταί τε

δια π]αντος και νυν

πολε]μουσι λεγοντ[ε]ς

τηκ[ασι και επιδαμ (38. 6)

[νον ημετεραν ουσαν

[κακουμενην μεν ου

προσεπο[ιουντο ελ

5 θοντων δε [ημων επι

τξιμωριαι ε[λοντες

β[ι]αι εχουσι· κ[αι φασι 39. 1

δη δικη προ[τερον

εθελησαι κ[ρινεσθαι

10 η' ν' γε' . . . τον προ[εχοντα

και εκ του ας[φαλους

col. iii

1 ε]χωσι subjunctive with A c (εχωσιν): εχουσιν BEFM.

That -ci rather than -cin was written is not quite certain, for the papyrus is broken, but the foot of ν would probably be visible if written; cf. iv 7. On movable nu see Stahl, *Quaest. Gramm.* 36. A high or middle stop will have been lost.

2 There is really no telling whether the papyrus gave προλάβωσιν (C) or προσλάβωσιν (b <G>), though the shorter seems a bit more suitable for the space.

3 No guarantee of αναισχυντωσι (with A (-cin) GC³) rather than -ουσι (with BEFM C: -cin all but B), but cf. line 1 above. -ci rather than -cin looks rather better for the space and would be in accord with iv 7, cf. iii 1.

5 οσοι: δσω codd., rightly. An easy error between αγαθοι and αληπτοτεροι. But it does look as if the ο may have been crossed through, in which case ω was presumably written above, where the papyrus is now missing.

6-7 In the left margin between 6 and 7 there is ink in the shape of a small wedge, conceivably ζ or ζ[η] for ζήτει 'check.'

7 No trace of a stop after πελας, but one may have been lost.

τοσῶδε: the accent is so given by all the manuscripts (τοσῶδε c BFM, τοσῶδε A, τοσῶι δε E). Most editors change to τόσῳ δε: Alberti is an honourable exception, following Steup.

8 αι crossed through, ε written above, apparently by the first hand.

8-9 αυτοις εξην: εξην αυτοις codd.

11 δικαγια,δεια-. The sign may be the (hypo)diastole (the word-separator which serves to clarify the lexical articulation in *scriptio continua*, see *GMAW*² p. 11), but there seems little enough need for one here, and it is written unusually large. Perhaps it is intended to dissociate τὰ δίκαια from δεικνύναι syntactically, or in *pronuntiatio* (cf. Quint. 11. 3. 35). There is nothing between αρετην and διδουσι in 9 above (at least, neither diastole nor stop: perhaps a slightly larger than normal interliteral space).

14 ειςιν: not ειςι.

δ': so c: δε b.

15 αφεσταί: the putative circumflex is damaged, and the traces would be consistent also with an acute.

col. iv

6 1. τιμωρίαι.

7 β[ι]αι: it is not quite certain that the iota adscript is written (but it was in the previous line).

7/8 No paragraphos.

10 η' ν': the ν added (above the line between η and γ) perhaps by the first hand. E has η' (ἦν rell. (ἦν F)), a curious but no doubt insignificant conjunction.

Traces above το, the ink mostly lost to abrasion, but presumably ου was added: οὐ τὸν codd. Was it merely omitted through scribal inadvertence, or is a position later in the clause implied for the first exemplar?

3880. THUCYDIDES I 46-47, 62

Fr. 1 5 1B.39/G(h)

2.2 × 2.5 cm

First-second century

Fr. 2 27 3B.41/G(4-6)a

4 × 8 cm

Two scraps, apparently recovered in different excavation seasons, brought together on the basis of their handwriting, a notably tiny and informal hand such as might be used for a commentary (cf. e.g. XXXIX 2886, more cursive, and 2887, larger), to be assigned to the later first or early second century. Restraint in the use of ligatures (only ε is ligatured with any frequency) saves the hand from giving a totally documentary impression, but there is no attempt at regularity or formality of script (π e.g. is sometimes made cursively, in a single loop), and the employment of filler-signs only desultorily aids justification of the right margin. The script of the *Pirithous* papyrus, XVII 2078 + L 3531 (Turner, *GMAW* 33; L pl. iii) is similarly tiny but has an altogether more literary appearance, while XXVII 2467 (Menander) is more cursive. Back blank.

Though the column was only about 6 cm wide, each line held c. 30 letters. And a depth of only 7.6 cm accommodates the 22 surviving lines of fr. 2; the papyrus is broken above and below, so that the full column height cannot be determined. This is a very economical use of papyrus. Payment will hardly have been by the line or page.

The scribe is sparing but discriminating in his use of lectional aids. Punctuation is regularly by high point, but the double point is also used (fr. 2. 19) to signal a strong stop (see XXXIV 2703 intro., XLVII 3326 intro.); weak stops are left unsignalled. A rough breathing is diacritically applied, protecting *αὐτῶν* from being read as *αὐτῶν*, as it has become in most of the medieval mss. Elision is left unmarked. No accents. 3880 is an unpretentious copy made cheaply for fast intelligent reading.

Three new readings: fr. 1. 7 (*v.l.*), fr. 2. 15, 21.

The text of fr. 2 overlaps col. i of P. Mich. inv. 6789 (published in *ZPE* 29 [1978] 16–21; of similar date). No substantial discrepancies between them are apparent.

Fr. 1

χειμε]ριον
η]πειρου εντα]υθα
c]τρατοπεδον [
κερκ]υραιοι ως [η]ιςθ]οντο i 47. 1
5] πληρωσαντε]c
ναυ]c ων ηρχε μι]κιαδης
κα]ι ε]υρ]υβατο]c

6 *Μικιάδης* F: *Μεικ- c* ABE: *Μηκ- M*: *Μειξ-* Wilamowitz. Scribal convention represents long iota sometimes as *ει*, sometimes as *ι*; materially indifferent.

7 The supralinear *ο*, if rightly taken as such, apparently offers *Εὐρύβοτος* as an alternative to *Εὐρύβατος* (*codd. omnes*). I cannot say which is more likely to be correct.

Fr. 2

τ]ωι ις]θμωι ε (62. 3)
πιτηρειν τους αθηναι]ους ην [επι]ωσι
χαλκιδεας δε και το]υς εξω ις]θ]μου
ξυμμαχους και την] παρα περδικκου
5 διακοσιαν ιππον εν] ολυνθ]ωι μενειν
και οταν αθηναιοι επι] c]φας χωρωσι κα]τα
νωτου βοηθουντας ε]ν μεσωι ποιειν αυ
των τους πολεμιου]c· καλλιας δ αυ ο των
αθηναιων στρατη]γος και οι ξυναρ 62. 4

10 χοντες τους μεν μ]ακεδονας ιππε
ας και των ξυμμ]αχων ολιγους επι ο>
λυνθου αποπεμπουσι]ν οπως ειργωσι>
τους εκειθεν επιβοηθ]ειν· αυτοι δε ανα
στησαντες το στρα]τοπεδον εχωρουν
15 επι την ποτειδαιαν]· και επειδη{ι} εν 62. 5
τωι ισθμωι εγενοντο] και ειδον τους
εναντιους παρασκευα]ζομενους ως
ες μαχην αντικαθιστα]ντο και αυτοι -
και ου πολυ υστερον συνεμ]ιγον· και αυ 62. 6
20 το μεν το του αριστεως κερα]ς και οσοι περι
εκεινον ησαν κορινθιω]ν τε και αλλων
λογαδες ετρεψαν το καθ εαυτο]ν]c] κα]ι

Fr. 2

6 χωρωσι]ν P. Mich.

7 αυ]c]των with G^{pc}, rightly: *αὐτῶν* rell. The breathing is informally made, a hook of elongated L-shape.

9 *αθηναιων στρατη]γος*. The space is suitable for the text as transmitted: α|[θηναιων . . . στρατη]γος P. Mich.

15 *εν*: *προς* *codd.* (in lac. P. Mich.), which seems clearly better ('when they had arrived at the Isthmus', not when they were on it). *εν τῷ Ισθμῷ* twice already in this chapter, 62. 1 and 62. 3.

18 The short horizontal bar at the end of this line is probably meant for a high stop.

In the right margin opposite this line, at a distance of a centimetre, there is a sign resembling a '3', not a conventional siglum; the papyrus is broken off to the right.

21 *ἄλλων*: *τῶν ἄλλων* *codd.* Either reading seems defensible. Cf. 60. 1.

3881. THUCYDIDES I 52–53

87/55(a)

7.8 × 22.0 cm

Second-third century

Part of a single column, written in an ordinary 'severe' style belonging perhaps to the second half of the second century or to the first half of the third; back blank. As often in severe-style manuscripts the column is fairly narrow, c. 6.5 cm; height indeterminable, at least 18 cm. Stops in middle-high position, no other lectional aids in evidence. Iota adscript written (2).

5 καν των] γεων εν χωρ[ι
 ωι ερημ]ωι· του δε οικα[152. 3
 δε πλου] μαλλον διε[
 σκοπου]ν οπη κοιμι[
 5 κθησονται] δεδιότες
 μη οι] αθηναιοι νομι
 κα]ντες λελυθαι τας
 ς]πονδας διοτι εκ χει
 ρ]ας ηλθον ουκ εωσι εφας
 10 αποπλειν· εδοξεν ονν 53. 1
 α]ντοις ανδρας εκ κελη
 τ]ιον εκβιβασαντας ανευ
 κ]ηρυκειου προσπεμ
 ψαι τ]οις αθ]ηναιοις και
 15 π]ε[ι]ρ[αν ποι]ησαςθ[αι]·
 πε]μψαντες τε ελεγο]ν
 20 ται]αδε αδικειτε ω[53. 2
 αν]δρες αθηναιοι πο[
 λεμ]ου αρχοντες και
 20 σπο]νδας λυοντες· η
 μιν] γαρ πο[λεμιους
 [τους ημετερους τει]
 μω]ρουμενοις εμπ[ο
 δω]ν ιστα[σθε οπλα
 25 α]νταιρομ[ενοι· ει δ υ
 μι]ν γνω[μη εκτι κω
 λυει]ν τε η[μας επι κερ
 κυρ]αν η α[λλοσε ει ποι
 β]ουλομεθα [πλειν και
 30 τ]ας σπον[δας λυετε
 η]μας το[υδε
]τ[

1-7 The text covered in these lines is partially preserved also in P. Harr. 41 (*IT*²⁹) fr. 1 i 6-10. Cf. on 31-32 below.

6 οι]: considerations of space indicate that the papyrus had the article, absent from G.
 10/11 A paragraphos will have been lost.
 12 εσβιβασαντας with EFMZ: εμβιβασαντας c AB (-τες B) Greg. Cor. Lex. Vind. Before βιβ the damage is severe, but the traces of the immediately preceding letter well suit c and exclude μ.
 13 I think -κειον (AB Greg. Cor.) suits traces and space better than -κιον (c EFMZ).
 προσπεμ]ψαι with ABEFZ: προπέμψαι c M Greg. Cor. Once again the damage is severe, with loose and twisted fibres, but the remains of the letters before πεμ are consistent with oc and not with ρο.
 16 ελεγο]ν: or -ο[ν].
 17 There may have been a stop after ται]αδε (along with a paragraphos at line beginning).
 22 A few traces of this line are in fact to be seen but are too badly damaged to admit of assignment to individual letters.
 23 εμπ[ο: the π is on a detached scrap, which if rightly placed gives also a few undecipherable traces of the ends of lines 25 and 26.
 28 No telling whether ποι (with b) or πη or πηι (πη c, πη Lex. Vind.).
 31-32 After τούδε the tradition is split between πρώτους λαβόντες (c) and λαβόντες πρώτον (bY, -τας for -τες EZ); considerations of space make it clear that P. Harr. 41 (*IT*²⁹) had the former, or at least not the latter ([τους λ]αβοντε[c fr. 1 i 11]). There are also the unattested permutations to consider. If τ] is rightly recognized in our papyrus for line 32, we may contemplate either πρώτους (or -ον) | λαβον]τ[ε or λαβον]τες πρω]τ[ον (or -ου). The latter seems to suit the space better, but there can be nothing like certainty.

3882. THUCYDIDES i 72-74

49 5B.99/D(4-6)b

19 × 25 cm

Third century

More of the once handsome roll represented by PSI XI 1195 (*IT*²⁷). There are now remains of four consecutive columns, the second of them split between the Florence piece and the present one. The angular script, of familiar type, is distinguished by its ornamentation. Downstrokes tend to begin with a hook (ι η κ ψ; α λ; υ χ; sometimes μ ν π; not γ), as sometimes does the cross-bar of τ (beginning above and proceeding down leftwards); υ sometimes has its cup seriffed at either side. I believe we may recognize another sample of the same scribe's work in XXXII 2630 (choral lyric). The hand bears a close resemblance also to XXVII 2466 + XLVII 3319 (Sesonchosis Romance; I would say certainly not the same hand as XVIII 2177), which is a little less flamboyantly executed but could be the work of the same man.¹ XIX 2211, a different hand, may be compared. The editor of PSI 1195 assigned our manuscript to the second century, but the third may perhaps be thought more likely. Some sort of anchor for the date of such hands is provided by VII 1016 (Roberts, *GLH* 20a), written on the back of a document which has now had its date brought down to not earlier than AD 235 (*ZPE* 21 [1976] 14; but see the reservation entered by J. L. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 [1987] 290).

Written area c. 8.5 × c. 18.5 cm; intercolumnium c. 2 cm. Upper margin c. 3.2 cm, lower at least 4 cm. About 26 letters to the line, a steady 29 lines to the column.

¹ But XLIX 3448 (Thuc. i) is in my judgment unquestionably by another hand.

Punctuation by middle or high point, usually alone, but in combination with paragraphus to mark a major division (beginning of speech) at 73. 1 (col. ii 2). Final nu sometimes in suspension at line end. ουκ' with *diastole* at col. ii 3.

The text seems to have been fairly good. Where the medieval MSS are divided, the papyrus is usually if not always right; that is not to say the corruptions are necessarily of subsequent origin. An error is corrected at col. iii 16, apparently by a second hand; this does not itself afford evidence of collation against a second exemplar, but the alteration at PSI 1195 i 24 probably does. Unlike the Florence piece, the new fragment offers no new readings of its own. Cols. iii and iv overlap the surviving text of XLV 3234 and 3883 below; their only disagreement is in the matter of movable nu, which 3234 goes without.

I am grateful to Professor Manfredi for providing me with a photograph of PSI 1195 and for verifying some of its readings on the original. The columnar numeration of the transcription below continues that of PSI 1195, the latter column of which is reedited here by courtesy of Prof. Manfredi. Back blank.

A fragment from bk. iii in what is probably the same hand is published below as 3894.

col. ii (PSI 1195 ii + 3882 i)

και παρελθοντες οι αθηναιοι ελ[εγο(ν)
 τοιαδε· η μεν προς[βε]υσις ημων i 73. 1
 ουκ' ες αντιλογιαν τοις υμε[τ]εροις
 ξυμμαχοις εγεν[ετο] αλλα] περι ων η
 5 πολις επ[εμψεν· αιθανομε]νοι δε [κα
 ταβοην ο[υκ' ολιγην ο]υσαν ημων
 παρηλθο[μεν ου τ]οις εγκλημασι
 των πολλων αντερουντες· ου γαρ
 παρα δικασταις υμιν ουτε ημω(ν)
 10 ουτ[ε το]υτων οι λ[ο]γοι αν γι[γ]νοιν
 το· αλλ οπ]ως μη ραδιως περι μεγα
 λων πραγμ]ατων τοις ξυμμαχοις
 πειθομενοι χειρον βουλευεσθε
 και αμα βουλομενοι περι τ[ου] παν
 15 τος λογου του ες ημας καθεστωτος
 δηλωσαι ως ουτε απεικοτως εχο
 μεν α κεκτημεθα [η τε π]ολις ημω(ν)
 αξια λογου ε[στιν· και τα] μεν πανυ 73. 2
 παλαια τι δε[ι λεγειν]· ων ακοαι μαλ
 20 λον λογων μ[αρτυρε]ς η οφισ των

ακουσομεν[ων τα] δε μηδικα
 και οσα αυτο[ι ξυνις]τε ει και δι ο
 χλου μαλλον ε[σται αι]ει προβαλλο
 25 μενοις αναγκ[η λεγει]ω· και γαρ
 οτε εδρωμεν [επ ωφ]ελιαι εκιν
 δυνευετο· ης τ[ου με]ν εργου με
 ρος μετεσχετε [του δε] λογου μ[η]
 παντος ει τι ωφελει στ]ερικωμε
 θα· ρηθησεται δε ου] παραιτησε 73. 3

9, 17 ω

col. iii

(7 lines lost)

βαντες ες τ]ας ναυς [πανδημει (73. 4)
 εν σαλαμ]εινι ξυ[ν]αυ[μαχησαι ο
 περ εσχε μ]η κατα πολεις αυτ[ο]ν ε
 πιπλεοντ]α την πελοποννησον
 5 πορθειν α]δυνατων αν οντων προς
 ναυς πολ]λας αλληλοις επιβοηθει[ν·
 τεκμηρ]ιον δε μεγαστον αυτος ε [73. 5
 ποιησεν· νικηθεις γαρ ταις ναυσι [·
 ως ουκετι] αυτωι ομοιας ουση [·
 10 της δυ]αμεως κατα ταχος τωι
 πλεονι] του στρατου ανεχωρησεν [·
 τοιουτου] μεγτοι τουτου ξυμβαη [74. 1
 τος] κα[ι] σα]φως δ[η]λωθεντος οτι [·
 εν τα]ις ναυσι των ελλ[η]νων
 15 τα πραγ]ματ]α εγενετο· τρια τ[α ω
 φ]ελιμωτατα ες αυτα παρεσχομε
 θ]α αριθμον τε νεων πλει[ς]τον
 κ]αι αν[δ]ρα στρατηγον ξυνετω
 20 τα]τον και προθυμιαν ακονοτα
 τ]ην· ναυς μεν γε ες τας τετρα
 κο]σιας ολιγω ελασσους δυο μοιρω(ν)
 θ]εμιστοκλεα δε αρχοντα ος αιτι

21 ω

col. iv

(c. 16 lines lost)

ετειμ[ωρησατε (74. 2 fin.)
 [
 [
 [
 [
 δη εδεικα[τε υπερ υμων και ουχ (74. 3)
 η[μων

ετειμ[is on a strip of papyrus extending opposite col. iii 10; similarly with δη κτλ, opposite col. iii 15 f. Opposite col. iii 22 is an unidentifiable trace of the first letter of the presumptively last line of col. iv. The rest of col. iv is lost.

col. ii

3 ουκ'. The sign clarifies the articulation ('οὐκ not οὐ κ-'). Properly it is the *diastole* (see on XLIV 3153 563), but once its use with οὐκ and οὐχ became standard it came to be felt as an *apostrophe*, and was rationalized by grammarians as elided οὐκί (cf. Turner, *GMAW*² p. 11 n. 51).

ὑμε[τ]ερρ[ι]ς. The first letter is not certainly read, but the trema guarantees that the papyrus had ὑμετέροις, with AEM, rightly, not ἡμετέροις as C<G> BF.

5 The codd. are split between αἰθανόμενοι (c) and αἰθόμενοι (b). Considerations of space make it almost certain that the papyrus had αἰθανόμενοι (amend Alberti's apparatus), which is at least arguably right.

8 πολλων (PSI 1195): a simple error for πόλεων (codd.).

19 Perhaps a *longum* (not a circumflex) over the α of μαλ (to obviate anticipation of μάλα?).

21 τὰ δὲ Μηδικά, as codd.: amend Alberti's apparatus.

22 The space seems better suited for αυτο[ι] (with b, rightly) than for αυτο[ι]ς (with c), but I cannot say for sure.

24 προβαλλόμενα ἡμῖν διαβαλλομένοις con. Ed. Schwartz, now with diminished transmissional probability.

Above the α of γαρ there is an inexplicable dot of ink: accidental?

28 στ[ερικκώμ]ε[θα] with G ABM, rightly: -όμεθα C EF.

Col. ii/iii *Argumentum e vacuo*: the 7-line lacuna would accommodate the transmitted text.

col. iii

4 την (so too 3234): τήν τε ABF. Πελοπόννησον c, as usual.

12 τούτου ξυμβάν[τος] with 3234 and c: *ordine inverso* b.

16 αὐτά corrected to αὐτό by supraliteral cancel-dot and suprascript ο.

20 ἐς: πρόσ con. Gomme.

τετρακοσίας: τριακοσίας <G> Ud. The papyrus adds to the authority of the larger figure.

21 Before δύο μοιρών G alone has τῶν (by conjecture?), which is generally accepted by editors. Its absence from the papyrus makes it more difficult to postulate the loss. See Steup, however.

col. iv

1 προ[|]ετειμ[ωρησατε, as codd. Editors print προὔτιμωρησατε.

3883. THUCYDIDES I 74

38 3B.82/G(3-4)a

3.5 × 7 cm

First century

The foot of XLV 3234 fr. 1. 29 lines to the column (estimated loss of six lines between 3234 fr. 1 and 3883). The hand is similar both to II 225 (but ε is different, and descenders turn to right at foot) and to 3896 below (but ρ has a lengthy descender); see at 3896 for comparable dated hands, and see further 3234 intro. Back blank.

The new piece shows an agreement with b at 4-5, whereas 3234 fr. 1. 11 has an agreement with c.

κλεα] δε α[ρχοντα ος αιτιωτατος i (74. 1)
 εν τωι στενω[ι ναυμαχησαι εγε
 νε[τ]ο· οπερ [σαφεστατα εωσε
 τα πραγματ[α και αυτοι δια του
 5 το δη μαλις[τα ετειμησατε αν
 δρα ξενον [των ως υμας ελθον
 των[·] προθυ[μιαν δε και πολυ 74. 2
 τολμηροτατ[ην εδειξαμεν οι
 γ] επειδ[η

3 A gap of about one letter's width is left before οπερ, cf. 3891 below.

4-5 αυτοι δια τουτο δη μάλιστα ετιμήσατε b (preferred by Luschnat): αυτών δια τουτο ὑμεις ετιμήσατε μάλιστα δη C<G> (preferred by Alberti). There is no guarantee that the papyrus had αυτοι not αυτών.

9 γ] επειδ[η. Seemingly no room for γε in full, as codd.

3884. THUCYDIDES I 91

102/Jan. 21

4.4 × 7.1 cm

Second century

A scrap written in a smallish plain upright hand assignable to the second century, perhaps to the latter part; back blank. Column width by calculation c. 5.5 cm; height undeterminable. It is not from the same manuscript as P. Amst. I 9 (thanks are due Prof. Sijpesteijn for a photograph, allowing this statement to be made with assurance), with which there is slight textual overlap.

To the three new readings of the Amsterdam text¹ the present fragment adds

¹ επίθοντο not ἐπίθοντο and ἤδη και not και ἤδη in 91. 1 (both defensible but wrong, I think), and seemingly a longer text (mostly in lacuna) before πέμψαι in 91. 2 (perhaps e.g. ἀποπέμψαι, or ἀλλά instead of ἤ). Other notable readings are an agreement in error with G in 90. 5 (υπο]λημφθην[αι pap., ὑποληφθῆναι G, ὑπολειφθῆναι rel.; but presumably insignificant), and apparent agreement with the paradosis at a suspected place in 91. 1 (αυτ[ου] | των pap.; see Gomme).

three more, all within the space of 91. 3: proper name without article (3), *Αβρωνιχος* not *Αβρωνιχος* (10), and a verbal compound (12). The papyrus accords with the rest of the direct tradition in presenting *κελευων* (5), usually regarded as interpolated.

ναγγελουσι] ζκ[εψαμενοι· α 191. 3
 ποστε]λλουσι [ουν και περι
 αυτω]ν θεμιστ[οκλης τοις
 αθην]αιοις κρυ[φα πεμπει
 5 κ]ελευων ως ηκ[ιστα επι
 φαγωγ κατασχ[ειν και μη
 αφειναι πριν αν αυτ[οι πα
 λιν κομισθωσι· η]δη γαρ
 και ηκον αυτω οι ξυ[μπρεσ
 10 βεις αβρωνιχος τε ο [λυσι
 κλεους και αριστει]δης ο
 λυσι]μαχου απαγ[γελλον
 τεσ εκ]ειν ικαγ[ωσ το τει
 χος· εφοβε]ιτο γαρ [

1 As with P. Amst. I 9, there is no way of telling whether our papyrus had *αναγγελουσι* (with **c**) or *απαγγελουσι* (with **b** and Suda). *απ-* at line 12 below.

3 *ο θεμιστοκλης* codd. (P. Amst. I 9 is not in evidence here). No article was written in the papyrus; *ν* is almost certain. At the next occurrence of the name, 91. 4, the same variation is still in the tradition: *θεμ. b, δ θεμ. c*.

4 *-οις. ους* was first written, then *υ* changed to *ι*, whether by the first hand or another is not clear.

5 *κελευων*: present in P. Amst. I 9 (apparently: in lacuna but fitting the space) and the medieval manuscripts (except Vd) but absent from Lex. Vind. 91 and athetized by editors.

P. Amst. I 9 breaks off at *ηκιστ[α*.

8/9 A paragraphos if written will have been lost.

10 *Αβρωνιχος* codd. (*A-A, -υχος G*). The papyrus' misspelling, due perhaps to the relative commonness of names in *Αβρο-*, recurs in parts of the Herodotean paradosis (viii 21. 1, 2).

12 *αγγελλοντες* codd. (*αγγελλοντες B*). Cf. e.g. ii 73. 4 (*απαγγ- b, αγγ- Π³⁴ c Dion.Hal.*). I should have thought *utrum in alterum* favoured the compound (haplography).

3885. THUCYDIDES II 2-4, 11, 13, 15

Frr. 1, 2, 4 66 6B.26/G(1-3)a Fr. 3 17.3 × 6.5 cm Third century
 Fr. 3 31 4B.16/G(1-4)a

Four fragments of a two-column-per-page papyrus codex. Several other pieces of the same manuscript are already known: P. Gen. 2, P. Ryl. III 548, and XLIX 3450.

(See A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *BICS* 22 [1975] 65-83, with plates I-III.)¹ It shares the serial numbers 272 and 279a in Turner's *Typology of the Early Codex*.

The new fragments, from near the beginning of Thucydides ii, come from the same quire as the Geneva and Rylands pieces. The combined physical and textual evidence makes it clear that we now have bits of two sheets of it. Fr. 3 of 3885 is from the quire's innermost sheet. Frr. 1, 2 and 4, along with the Geneva and Rylands pieces, are all from the next sheet out. Frr. 1 and 2 have remnants of the outer column (i.e. the column nearer the edge of the page) of the left-hand leaf (left-hand, that is, as the quire is viewed open at the centre, or as laid out prior to folding), as does the Rylands fragment; the Geneva fragment has remnants of the inner column of each leaf, while the present fr. 4 comes from nearer the top of the right-hand leaf, with remains of both the inner and outer columns. This is the reconstructed distribution:²

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| P. Gen. 2 i/ii (↓i, →ii); 3885 frr. 1-2 & P. Ryl. 548 i/ii (↓ii, →i) | Fol. 1 (R↓, V→) |
| lost (↓→) | Fol. 2 (R↓, V→) |
| 3885 fr. 3 (→ii, ↓i) | Fol. 3 (R→, V↓) |
| 3885 fr. 4 (→i & ii, ↓i & ii), P. Gen. 2 iii/iv (→i, ↓ii) | Fol. 4 (R→, V↓) |

The text of bk. ii apparently began at the top of the first of these eight pages (Fol. 1R); all the page numbers are lost. The fragments of 3450, which are from bk. i, come from one sheet of an earlier quire, if indeed bks. i and ii were bound together. Bk. ii will have occupied c. 60 pages. Of quire size I see no secure indication.

The direction of the fibres shows that before folding the sheets were laid out with the fibres horizontal, the natural way of proceeding if the sheets were cut from a ready-made roll (cf. Schubart, *Buch²* 129, Turner, *Typology* 65). The sheet represented by 3450A shows a collema-join. For the format and dimensions, see Dr. Bülow-Jacobsen's painstaking discussion at *BICS l.c.* The columns of 3885 fr. 3, especially the outer one (Fol. 3R col. ii), are rather narrower than is normal for the other fragments; explanation for this, if it is not a mere vagary, might lie in the fact that this is the central sheet of the quire, which may have been cut less broad than the outer ones.

Punctuation by high stop plus paragraphos (forked or unforked, see 3450), high stop alone, low stop (fr. 3→ 20, 3↓ 15, 4→ i 11). At least one of the stops (3→ 14) seems to be by a second hand. In 3450 no other lection aids were found, but the new fragments show several, judiciously applied: breathing (3→ 13, 3↓ 26, 4→ i 5, 4↓ ii 5, 7), accents (*ούκουν* 3→ 14, *μῖαι* 4↓ ii 6), perhaps apostrophe (3→ 26). *καί* is written in compendium at line-end (4→ i 16), cf. the line-end contractions in 3450; word-final *nu* often in line-end suspension. Iota adscript consistently written (in error perhaps at 3↓ 14). This is an intelligently copied text, written clearly and unpretentiously.

¹ To judge from the inventory numbers, the pieces were widely dispersed in the ground: the pieces here published turned up in the fourth and sixth excavation seasons, 3450 in the fifth.

² ↓ and → indicate the direction of the fibres on the page. i and ii in conjunction with these arrows indicate which of the two columns on the page is represented. R(ecto) and V(erso) are used in their codicological sense. For convenience the leaves are labelled Folios 1-4.

The text of fr. 3 overlaps XIII 1621 (Π^{20} , 4th cent.), from which it several times differs. Two suspected interpolations, absent from 1621, are present in 3885 ($\sigma\dot{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ 3↓ 1, $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ 3↓ 24). Of textual novelties in the new fragments the most interesting are the absence of the second $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ from the difficult passage ii 11. 7 (3↓ 13) and a differently phrased clause at 13. 1 (4→ i 6 f.); see also at 1↓ 4, 3↓ 18. There is an agreement with F at 4→ i 13. Of the new readings in 3450 the following seem to me to be right: i 100. 3 om. $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota$ (A↓ i 45), 102. 4 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ (A→ i 16 *ut vid.*), 103. 4 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (A→ ii 16), 104. 1 om. $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ (A→ ii 17), *ib.* om. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ (A→ ii 22 *ut vid.*).

(Fol. 1R col. ii)

(Fol. 2V col. i)

Fr. 1

| | | | |
|------------------------|------|---------------------|------|
| ↓ | → | ii (2. 4) | 4. 2 |
| ο] κηρ[υξ | | κα]ι [δ]ις [μεν | |
| κατα] τα πατρι[α | | -σαν]το· επ[ειτα | |
| βοιω]των ξυμ[μαχειν | | θορυβ]ωι αυτων [τε | |
| τιθεσθ]αι παρ εαυ[τους | | -τ]ων και των [| |
| 5 νομι]ζοντες ς[φισι | 5 | ο]ικετων αμ[α | |
| τουτ]ωι τωι τροπ[ωι | | οικ]ιων κρανγ[ηι | |
| -c]ειν την π[ολιν | |] χρωμεν[ων | |
| πλα]ταιης ως [| 3. 1 | κερ]αμωι βαλ[λοντων | |

Fr. 2

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| ↓ | → | (3. 1 <i>ad fin.</i>) | (4. 2 <i>ad fin.</i>) |
| ησυ]χ[α]ζ[ο]ν [| | -μ]εγα ην [| |
| εc] ουδ[ενα | | εχ]οντες τ[ους | |
| | | το]ν μη εκ[φευγειν | |

About nine lines are lost between fr. 1 and fr. 2 (↓ and →). About 16 lines are lost between fr. 2 and P. Ryl. R col. i & V col. ii of this leaf are represented by P. Gen. i & ii.

Fr. 1↓

4 εαυ[τους: $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota$ codd., $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ edd. Cf. 3450A i 38.8 Πλαταιής ABE: Πλαταιείς c F M³ a₂ (Hude). The papyrus' iota in the ending is a subsequent addition; η is untouched.

Fr. 2→

3 τοῦ μη ἐκφεύγειν del. Herwerden. The commentary VI 853 (Π^8) quotes this passage ($\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$... οἱ πολλοί) with ἐκφυγεῖν (so too cod. Paris. 1735), and so paraphrases in its exegesis (col. v 21, 24, 28). Luschkat and Alberti both opt for the aorist. There is no knowing which 3885 will have had.

Fr. 3

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| → | (Fol. 3R col. ii) | ↓ | (Fol. 3V col. i) | |
| | ρ[ιc]τ[ο]ι στρατευοντ[εc· | | ουτω πολιν [ερχομεθα· | 11. 6 |
| | δικαιον ουν ημα[c | 11. 2 | αλλα τ[ο]ιc πα[cin αριστα | |
| | μητε των πατερ[ων | | παρεσκευα[cμενην· | |
| | χει[ρουc] φαινε[cθαι | | ω]cτε χ[ρη κα]ι [πανυ | |
| 5 | μητε] ημω[ν αυτων | 5 | ε]λιπιζ[ειν δια μαχηc | |
| | [της δοξης ενδεεc] | | ι]εγα[ι αυτουc· ει μη και | |
| | τερουc· η] γαρ ελλασ [πα | | νυν ωρμ[ηνηται εν ωι | |
| | ca τηιδ]ε τηι ορμηι | | ουπω πα[ρεcμεν· αλλ ο | |
| | επηρ]ται· και προσε | | ταν εν τη[ι γηι ορωcιν | |
| 10 | χει τ]ην γνωμην εν | 10 | ημαc δηι[ουνταc τε και | |
| | νο]ιαν εχουcα δια το | | τακειων φθ[ειρονταc· | |
| | αθ]ηναιων εχθοc | | πασι γαρ εν τ[οιc ομμα | 11. 7 |
| | πραξαι ημαc α] [επιυ]ο | 11. 3 | ci και τωι παραυτ[ικα | |
| | ο]υμεν· ούκουν χρη | | οραιν παcχοντα[ci τι | |
| 15 | ει τ]ωι κα]ι δοκουμεν | 15 | αθηc. ορ[γη] προσ[πι | |
| | πληθε]ι [ε]πιc[να]ι και | | πτει· κ[αι οι λο]γιcμ[ωι | |
| | αcφα]λεια π[ο]λλη ει | | ελα]χιcτα χ[ρωμε]ν[οι | |
| | ναι] μη αν ελθειν | | θυμωι τα π[λειc]τα [εc | |
| | τουc εν]αντιουc [ημι] (υ) | | εργον καθ[ιcτανται· α | 11. 8 |
| 20 | δια] μαχηc. το[υτω]ν | 20 | θηναιουc [δε και πλε | |
| | ενεκ]α αμελεcτ[ερο]ν | | ον τι των α[λλων εικoc | |
| | τι πα]ρεcκευαcμ[ε | | τουτο δραc[αι οι αρχειν | |
| | νουc] χωρειν· αλλ[α | | τε των αλλ[ων αξιουci | |
| | και π]ολεωc εκαcτη[ci | | και ε[π]ιοντ[εc την των | |
| 25 | ηγεμ]ονα και cτp[α | 25 | πελ[αc] δηι[ουν μαλλον | |
| | τιω]την το καθ' αυτον | | η την αυτ[ων οραν· ωc | 11. 9 |
| | αιει πp]οcδεχ[ε]cθαι εc | | ουν επι το[caυτην πολιν | |
| | κινδυ]νον τινα ηξει(ν)· | | c]την δοξα[ν | |

Fr. 3→

9 προσέ|[χει with c and EF, rightly: προέχει ABM³.

14 A short space is left before ούκουν, which is accentuated according to Herodian (*Gramm. Gr.* III i 516. 23-27). After *χρη* any stop will have been lost.

16 or [ναι] και.

17 ἀσφάλεια πολλή. The *codd. vet.* wrongly take this as dative. Since this papyrus always writes iota adscript, it has the correct nominative, in common with a few *rec.*, namely K Pi Vm Nf² Pl³ γρH², in which it may well be inherited. On Pl³ H² (and Pi) see Kleinlogel 33 ff. (and 82 n. 72), Alberti, *praef.* cxvi ff.; on Vm and K Nf (all ψ-mss.), Alberti, *praef.* lxxv-lxxxii.

20 The tradition is split between τούτων and τούτου. No telling which the papyrus had.

22 παρεσκευασμένους: C (*ex corr.*) and E write παρα-.

Fr. 3↓

Above this column is a trace of ink, perhaps of the page number; but it is now unrecoverable.

1 οὐτω, which had been deleted by Madvig, is not present in P²⁰. An interpolation (though retained by Luschnat) already current.

3 παρα- C a.c. E a.c.

11 τὰ κείνων, so written in b (τὰ κείνων A): *scriptio plena* in C<G> and P²⁰.

13 τῶι: ἐν τῷ P²⁰ and *codd.* πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὁμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὄραν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθεσ ὄργη προσπίπτει is a difficult expression, which has been understood and emended in a variety of ways (see Marchant, Gomme). The papyrus offers the same text (no room for ἐν τῶι τοῖς ὁμα in 12), only without the second ἐν. This makes no difference to the construction, so far as I can see, but it does make for a harsher zeugma (whether τῷ is taken as belonging to παραντίκα or to ὄραν). I see no help here.

14 Perhaps ὁ. Little doubt about ὁραμν: just a mistaken iota adscript, I suppose.

15 For the low (=weak) stop cf. →20.

18 θυμῶι τα π[λειε]τ[α: θυμῶ πλείετα P²⁰, *codd.*, Galen. The traces either side are minimal, but τα is definitely written, not πλ. The article cannot stand. Thucydides does not use adverbial τὰ πλείετα; for the opposition ἐλάχιστα/πλείετα cf. vii 68. 3. A still-born interpolation. No doubt there are definite articles in the paradoxos still to be expunged; cf. e.g. iv 38. 3, 39. 1, and 39. 3, where I 16 (in all cases correctly?) omits, or in the third instance cancels, the article; and cf. line 24 below. Cf. also 3880 fr. 2. 21 above, and 3888 i 17 below.

In the lemma at VI 853 (P³) vii 4-6 [θυμῶ πλ]είετα is restored, but since the diplomatic transcript estimates a loss of eight letters, τὰ πλείετα perhaps comes into question there too.

20 f. πλε]ον τι: P²⁰ (which writes πλειον) omitted τι, subsequently added.

24 ε[π]ιφοντ[εσ την των]| π[ε]λασ: τῶν om. P²⁰. The papyrus almost certainly had the reading of the later mss., which if an interpolation, as the evidence of P²⁰ leads Alberti to believe (and even Luschnat says 'fort.'), it is now shown to be ancient.

26 τῆν: τῶν P²⁰.

ἀντων, so one *rec.* (Pk²): αὐτων P²⁰, αὐτῶν C<G>, ἐαυτῶν b.

27 το[σαύτην with P²⁰ c E: τὴν ἄλλην ABFM³.

Fr. 4→ (Fol. 4R)

col. i

]. [

(13. 1)

νειν π]ρ[οε]ι[πο]ν ενε[κα] εκει
νου] προηγορευε τοις αθη
ναιοι]ς εν τη εκκλησιαι οτι

col. ii

τ[ροπον ουκ ελασσονος ην η πεν
τ[ακοσιων ταλαντων] ετι δε
κ[αι τα εκ των αλλων ιερων

13. 5

5 αρχιδ]αμος μεν οι ξενος
c. 5 ου μ]εντοι γε επι κα
κωι της πο]λεως γεγενη
ται τους δ]ε [α]γγρους τους εαυ

του και . . .]¹ . . .]¹ . . .]¹ . . .]¹
αζ ην αρα μη

10 δηιωσωι]ν οι πολεμοι
ωσπερ και] τα των αλλων.
αφιηεν αυ]τ[α δ]ημοσια
ειναι και μ]ηδεμιαν υπο

ψιαν κατα] τ[α]υτα γιγνε
cθαι· παρη]γει δε και περι
15 των παρον]των α[περ] κ(αι) ρ[
προτερον παρασκευ]ε [

13. 2

4→ i P. Gen. iii comes from the lower part
of this column.

Fr. 4↓ (Fol. 4V)

Of col. i only a few line-ends remain, badly rubbed. 2 (which stands opposite ii 3) is]βo, which is very probably εc]βo|[λη, 13. 9. The remaining traces, insofar as they are decipherable at all, may then be accommodated to the transmitted text as follows: εc]βo|[λη το πρωτον εμελλε π]ε|[λοποννησιων εσεc]θαι και εc τον πολε]μο(ν) | [καθισταντο· ελεγε] δε | [κτλ (abraded traces of six more line-ends).

col. ii

]. [. . .] . . . [

(15. 2)

αποδειξας και π[ρυτανει
ον ξυνωικισε πα]ντας και
νεμομενους τα [αυτων εκας
5 τ[ο]υc ἀπερ και π[ρο του ηναγ
κασεν μιαι π[ολει ταυτη χρη
cθαι· η ἀπαντ[ων ηδη ξυν
τελουντων [εc αυτην μεγα
v[
λη γενομεν]η παρεδοθη

- 10 υπο θησεως [τοις επειτα· και
ξυνοικια εξ [εκεινου αθηνα
οι ετι και νυν [τηι θεωι εορ
την δημ[ο]. [ελη ποιουσιν· το 15.3
δε προ τ[ο]υ[του η ακροπολις
15 η γυν ουσα· π[ολις ην και το υ
π αυτη[ν
]. . . [15.4

Severely abraded

P. Gen. iv comes from the lower part of this column.

Fr. 4 → col. i

5 μέν οι C<G> F², rightly: μέντοι **b**. *ι* is in correction (from *ς*, at a guess).

6–8 The paradosis runs ... ξένος εἴη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῶ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, κτλ. The papyrus has γε after μέντοι, and γεγένη[ται] (hardly γε γένηται) for γένοιτο; and for the beginning of line 6 ειη seems too short. The papyrus' placement of γε is hard to accept. Denniston *GP*² 405 comments on the uncommonness of juxtaposed μέντοι γε, and in Thucydides there is no attested instance, whereas I count sixteen instances of οὐ μέντοι ... γε (excluding not only the present passage but also i 127. 2, iii 93. 2, and vi 32. 3, where γε—or rather γ' in all three cases—is not transmitted but I imagine may well have fallen out). Perhaps in a predecessor γε was inadvertently left out, to be reinserted here. With the rest of the papyrus' discrepancy the case is less clear. Given γεγένη[ται], we should probably restore έτων at the beginning of 6, which fits the space well (though e.g. τύχοι might also fit). The text seems defensible enough. We have the indicative below, άφίγηεν, and the perfect makes good sense (it was not on such terms that the friendship had existed). For the tense-variation within the tradition cf. i. 76. 3, γεγένηται **b** (which I should prefer on grounds both of grammar and of sense), γένωνται **c**.

9 καὶ οἰκίας *codd.*, which I presume is the intent of the papyrus, though what was written is not clear (not apparently οἴκου or οἰκείας). *a* itself seems to be in correction. After *ς*, perhaps a middle stop.

10 Perhaps a variant (δηώσων *codd. omnes*): δηώσων, or another verb.

13 f. μ]ηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν with F: μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν *rell.*

16 κ(α) written with a conventional compendium; it would not be so written except at line-end. I have no suggestion for the marginal ρ [(or β [).

col. ii

1 ἦν, deleted by Abresch and absent from Na, may or may not have been present in the papyrus.

Fr. 4 ↓ col. ii

5–6 ἠνάγκασεν: ἠνάγκασε *codd.*

7 η may have lost a breathing to abrasion. VI 853 (*Π*⁸) x 5 f. has as the lemma, ἡ α[παντων] ἠδη ξυντ[ελουσαν] *ε* αυ[την].

9 ν rewritten? Cf. 13 below. The supralineation in either case may of course have been more extensive.

14 τούτου **b**: τού **c**. The space suggests the longer, though there can be no certainty.

14 f. Hude's transposition, ἡ ἀκρόπολις νύν οὐσα ἡ πόλις, does not receive support. The point after οὐσα serves to clarify the syntactical articulation.

3886. THUCYDIDES II 15–16

27 3B.43/J(1–2)a

5 × 9 cm

Third century

A fragment written in a bilinear, sloping, angular hand probably belonging to the third century rather than to the second. Both high and middle stops appear to have been used. Back blank. The papyrus shares at least one textual error common to the medieval tradition. *Π*⁸ is the anonymous Thucydides commentary VI 853.

- καλλιρο]ηι ωνομας[ii (15.5)
μενη εκει]νηι τε εγ>
γυς ουσηι τα] πλειστου αξι[
α εχρωντο] και νυν ετι>
5 απο του αρχα]ιου προ τε>
γαμι]κων και ες αλλα των[
ιερ]ων νομιζε·^τ αι τωι[15.6
υδα]τι χρησθαι· καλειται[
δε δια τη]ν παλαιαν ταυ[
10 τηι κατ]οικησιν και η>
ακροπο]λις μεχρι του>
δε ετι] ὑπ αθηναίων
πολι]ς· τηι τε ουν ε> 16.1
15 πι π]ολυ κατα την χωραν[
αυτονο]μωι οικησει
μετειχον οι αθηνα]ιο[ι
και επειδη ξυνωι]κις[

2 έκει]νηι with *codd.* (-νη **c** FM, -νηι ABE): έκείνοι Bekker, approved by modern editors. *Π*⁸ does not comment on this passage.

3 πλείστου with *Π*⁸ (lemma) C<G> EFM: πλείστα AB.

7 νομίζεσθαι corrected to νομίζεται (so *codd.*, rightly) by the copyist himself, the error perhaps induced by the upcoming χρησθαι.

13 τε οὖν with *codd.* (τ)ε οὖν *Π*⁸ lemma): δ' οὖν Krüger. See Gomme.

16–17 The manuscripts' μετειχον is regarded as corrupt or interpolated. That it was present in the papyrus cannot be regarded as quite certain, but since in 16 the letter after *ι* can only be *a* or *o* (not *δ* for έπειδή) and in 17 *ι* at least is highly probable, there can be little doubt of it. In *Π*⁸ μετειχον does not form part of the lemma itself (τῆ τ]ε---οικήσει, col. x 24 f.) but is unmistakably implied in the exegesis.

3887. THUCYDIDES II 54, 80

Fr. 1 65 6B.36/J(1-3)a
Fr. 2 68 6B.25/J(6-7)b5.5 × 8.0 cm
4.5 × 7.3 cm

Second or third century

Two fragments written in a smallish 'severe' style, apparently from the same manuscript. (Not the same as III 451, Thuc. ii 73 f., to judge from a photograph.) Back blank. Dimensions indeterminable, except for column width, by calculation c. 6.5 cm. Two other hands than the scribe's seem to have been at work, one responsible for a heavy low stop in fr. 1. 9, heavy paragraphi at fr. 1. 10/11 and fr. 2. 12/13, and perhaps also the breathing in fr. 2. 3 (ὠν) and the high stop in the following line, the other intervening delicately with a fine pen to record a v.l. at fr. 2. 5 and add a breathing in fr. 2. 6 (ὠν). Some high stops, and one in middle-low position at fr. 1. 14, appear to be by the original scribe. Iota adscript inconstantly written (*αικονται* at fr. 1. 10). Movable nu not written (fr. 1. 13, 15). The only reading of note is the variant spelling of the name at fr. 2. 5.

Fr. 1

εν] τῷ ἐπεὶ ὑπο τ[ων παλαιων ἀλλα
λει]μον ἐνικη[σε δε ἐπι του
παρο]ν[τ]ος ἐικοτῶ[ς λοιμον ἐι
5 ρης]θα[ι· οἱ γαρ] ἀνθρ[ωποι προς
]α ἐπασχον[τ]ην μνημ[ην ε
]πο[ι]ουντο· ἦν δὲ [γ]ε [ο]ι[μαι πο
]τῆ [αλ]λος πολ[ε]μο[ς] κατα[λαβη
δ]ωρικος τουδε ὕστερο[ς και ξυμ
]βη γενης[θα]ι λειμον. κ[ατα το
10]εικ[ο]ς ουτω[ς] αικοντα[ι]· μ[νημη
] δε εγενετο [κ]αι τ[ο]υ λακ[εδαιμο
]νιων χρη[ς]τηριου τοι[ς] ειδοσιν
] οτε ἐπερωτωσι αυτοις τ[ον θεον
] ει χρη πολ[ε]μειν. ανει[λε κατα
15]κρατο[ς] π[ολ]εμονι νικ[ην εσε
]ς[θ]αι κα[ι αυτ]ος εφη ξυλλ[ηψε
]χθαι· πε[ρι μεν ουν το]υ χ[ρη

ii (54. 3)

54. 4

54. 5

1 υπο, trema will be lost ·

2, 9 I. λιμόν

5 α, any breathing will be lost.

1 ἔπει with CG¹ EFM: ἔπειτα AB. (In G the phrase ἐν τῷ ἔπει was apparently omitted: added in the margin by G¹.)

8 Δωρικὸς: Δωριακὸς C.

10 αικοντα[ι]. Hude reports C's reading as ᾱ + κονται: I presume the **b** manuscripts (G is missing) write ἄκονται.

12 M omits τοῖς---(17) χρηστηρίον (saut du même au même).

13 ἐπερωτῶσι: -σιν codd.

15 πολεμοῦσι: -σιν EF.

Fr. 2

...[...][...]
]τανας καβυλι[νθος επιτρο
]πος ὠν θαρυπ[ος του βασιλε
]ως· ἐτι παιδος [οντος και παραυ
β
5]αιους ορ[ο]ιδος β[ασιλευς ὠν· ορεσται
]δε χειλιοι ὠν [εβασιλευεν αντι
]οχος μετα π[αραναιων ξυν
]εστρατευοντ[ο οροιδωι αντιοχου
]επιτρεψαντος· ε[πεμψε δε και
10]περδικκας κρυ[φα των αθηναι
]ων χειλιους μ[ακεδωνων οἱ ν
]στερον ηλθον· [τουτωι τωι στρα
80.6
80.7
80.8
]τωι επορευετο [κνημος ου πε
ρι]μεινας το απ[ο κορινθου
15 ναυ]τικ[ο]ν και δ[ια της αργειας
ιοντες λι]μναια[ν

1 Surface mostly stripped, leaving only a few traces. An acceptable decipherment would be αβασι[λεων]· μ[ολοσσους δ ηγε και ατιν].

5 β written directly above δ by a subsequent hand, presumably registering Οροιβος from another exemplar. It has no support elsewhere.

C's βασιλευων not excluded.

5/6 Unclear whether or not a paragraphus was written.

3888. THUCYDIDES ii 75-76

18 2B.68/H(c)

8.5 x 22.5 cm

Third century

A fragment from a roll written in a largish and extreme example of the familiar angular sloping type of hand (Schubart, *Gr. Pal. Abb.* 89 is a less heavy example), with strong contrast between thick and thin strokes and between broad (e.g. *a*) and narrow (e.g. *θ*) letters. While breadth is exaggerated height is constricted (for example *o* has more breadth than height): the script gives a steam-rollered impression. XLV 3215 and the other mss. cited there, though without quite the same flattened effect nor as graceless, are comparable examples of the type. I should assign it to the third century. Column width c. 7.5 cm, with about 16 letters to the line; column height, if the last line of col. ii is rightly identified, c. 19 cm, occupied by c. 30 lines. Lower margin 4.5 cm or more. Little if any punctuation; and the text is bare apart from a possible smooth breathing at 17. Iota not written in improper diphthongs. The text was corrected by a second hand (7, 22). Back blank.

For chapters 75-78 of bk. ii, the siege of Plataea, the manuscript tradition is enlarged by the accession of the 10th-cent. cod. Parisinus Minae (gr. suppl. 607: Pm Kleinlogel and Alberti, previously P), which because of its peculiar uncial errors has been declared extra-archetypal (Alberti *praef.* L, cf. Kleinlogel 158 f.). One of this manuscript's false readings, reported only by Hude, is shared with the papyrus, though in the papyrus the text was subsequently corrected: see at 7. This is confirmation that readings found uniquely in Pm are liable to be ancient.¹ In other cases where Pm stands alone among the medieval witnesses the papyrus sides with the rest. Twice it agrees with **b** against **c** (10, 29, the first probably in truth, the second in error), but so in both these cases does Pm. At 75. 6 (17) ὕψος without article is new.

col. i

. [.]
 [.]
 . [. . .] . [. . .]
 τῶν ἐγγυς οἰκίων [κα
 5 θαιρουντες]· [ξυνδες ii 75. 5
 [μος δ ἦν αυτοις τα]

¹ Pm's text is superficially atrocious, but may perhaps contribute more of value than has been acknowledged. Editors will occasionally follow it when it is supported by a single other ms. (e.g. παρέβαλον with M at 77. 3 [with two of the Suda mss.], *om.* ἐξ οὐρανοῦ with C at 77. 6 [retained by most editors, but patently a gloss]), but never when it stands alone, excepting only the orthographical Πλαταιαίς (76. 4, 77. 5). But there is certainly no anterior reason for it not to be right where the rest are wrong, and I would suggest that in at least the following places its readings deserve more serious consideration: 75. 5 *om.* διστοίς after πυρφόροις; 75. 6 προσήπτετο <τό> χώμα (προσέπιπτε τὸ χώμα *rell.*); 76. 2 ὄρυξάν τε (ὀρύξαντες *rell.*); at 76. 3 (δύναντο: δύνωνται *rell.*) there seems little to choose.

ξύλα τοῦ μη υψηλο[ν] γ[ι
 γνομε[νο]ν ασθενες
 εἶναι το οικοδομημα
 10 και προκαλυμματα
 ειχε δερρεις και διφθ[ε
 ρας ωστε τους εργαζ[ο
 μενους και τα ξύλα
 μητε πυρφοροις οἱ
 15 στοις βαλλεσθαι εν
 ασφαεια τε εἶναι
 ἦρετο δε υψος του τ[ει 75. 6
 χου[ε μεγ]α και το χωμα
 ου χολ[αιτερον αν
 20 τανη]· αυτ[ω]· και οι
 πλατα]ιης τοιρονδε τι
 επινοο]υσι διελ[θ]ον
 τες του] τειχους η προς
 επιπτ]ε το χωμα ες[ε
 25 φορουν τ]ην γην [οι 76. 1
 δε πελο]προνησιοι
 αισθομε]νοι εν ταρ
 κοις καλα]μου πηλον
 ενιλοντ]εξ εζεβαλον

Remains of col. ii: α[opposite i 22, οι του[ε εναντιους (76. 3) the last line.

col. i

- 1-3 The surface is stripped, as it is for most of the next three lines too.
 5 The speck of ink I have taken for a stop may rather be part of ξ or another letter.
 7 The copyist wrote το, which is no doubt what his exemplar presented. υ is a later insertion, in a lighter ink. Hude reports τὸ μῆ in Pm (his P: τοῦ μῆ *rell.*); inherited?
 10 προκαλύματα with **b** Pm: προκαλύμμα **c**.
 11 δερρεις with codd. (perhaps ρ'ρ pap.): δέρρεις edd.
 14-15 οἰστοίς (διστοίς codd.: οἰστοίς edd.) *om.* Pm.
 17 The breathing (ἦρετο: 'nihil ad aīrew?') is not certain. What survives is a short horizontal, scarcely more than a dot; better taken as a breathing than as a paragraphus, I think.
 υψος: τὸ ὕψος codd. The papyrus reading is the *lectio difficilior*, also *brevior*, and I suppose it to be true.
 20 What I have taken for a stop may rather be part of the ω.
 21 Πλαταιαίς **c** FM.
 23-24 προσέπιπτε τὸ with the paradosis: προσήπτετο Pm, according to Hude (προσήπτετο τὸ coniecērim).
 26 Πελοποννήσιοι **c**, as usual.
 28 καλάμων πηλῶ Pm.
 29 ἐνείλοντες **b**, **c**, Suda (*ter*), Zonar. (*bis*): ἐνιδοντες (*sic, test.* Alberti) Pm: ἐνείλοντες P² and edd. The space is best suited to the shortest form (underlying Pm), though there can be no certainty.
 ἐεβαλον with **b**, Pm: ἐεβαλλον **c**, H (Kleinlogel p. 19), Suda (*ter*), Zonar. (*bis*).

3889. THUCYDIDES ii 76-77

9 1B.184/H(a)

7 × 13.5 cm

Second-third century

Remains of three consecutive columns, written in an elegant sloping hand of common type (e.g. 3885 above) belonging probably to the later second or early third century. There is some unobtrusive ornamentation: downstrokes tend to begin with a small serif from the left, and frequently terminate similarly (especially γ, τ, ρ, and cf. ζ). The lower left angle of α, always sharp, often extends below the preceding letter; but λ is differently formed, the left leg being closer to perpendicular and less prolonged; while δ is a small triangle sitting on a base line which extends either side. ρ is long-tailed. υ is the most variable letter, though always formed in the same basic manner; the upward movement with which its cup tends to begin (cf. χ), together with the bends of the stroke comprising the right-hand side and shank, often gives the letter a sinuous look. Thus the hand is individualized without being mannered.

The lectional apparatus is standard enough. Trema (i 5, ii 15), apostrophe (i 11); Spare punctuation, by high point; paragraphus apparently not used (no trace of one at ii 5 or 11). Final nu in suspension at line end is admitted. Apparent filler sign takes the unusual form of a shallow bow (i 8, 18?, 19, 20?). Written area by calculation c. 8.5 cm × c. 17.5 cm. About 35 letters to the line, about 30 lines to the column. Back blank.

For the textual tradition of this section see the introduction to the preceding number. The papyrus does not seem to have had any of Pm's peculiar readings.

Fr. 1

col. i

διηρη]μενον ο[πως μη δια
 χεομενον ωσπερ] η γη φοροιτο· οι [δε
 ταυτη αποκληιο]μενοι τουτο μεν επε
 σχον υπονομον δε] εκ της πολεως ορυ
 ξαντες και ξυντε]κμηραμενοι υπο
 το χωμα υφειλκον] αυθις παρα [σφ]αc το(ν)
 χουν και ελανθανο]ν επι πολ[υ τ]ορς
 εξω ωστε επιβαλλον]τας ηccon ανυ
 τειν υπαγομενου] αυτοις κατωθεν
 του χωματος και ιζα]γοντος αι επι το
 κενουμενον· δεδιο]τες δε μη ουδ' ουτω
 δυνωνται ολιγοι προ]ς πολλους αντε

ii 76. 2

76. 3

col. ii

τ[ε προσπεσεισθαι
 φειεσαν τ[ην
 ς[ι και
 ε[μπιπτουσα
 τ[ης εμβοληc
 ν[ηcιοι
 λ[ουν

77. 1

χειν προσεπεξευρον] τοδε το μεν μεγα
 οικοδομημα επαυσα]ντο εργαζομενοι
 το κατα το χωμα ενθε]ν δε και ενθεν αυ
 του αρξάμενοι απο το]ν βραχεος τειχους
 εκ του εντος μνηοειδ]εc εc την πολιν εc
 ωικοδομουν οπως ει το μ]εγα τειχος αλι
 σκοιτο τουτ' αντεχοι] και δεοι τους ε
 ναντιους αυθιc προς αυ]το χουν και προ

6 τδ

Fr. 2

[πανης και πολιορκιαc προσαχθειη· φο]
 ρουντος δ]ε υλης φ[ακελλους παρεβαλ
 λον απο το]ν χωμα[τος εc το μεταξυ πρω
 τον του τε]ιχους και τ[ης προσχωσεωc ταχυ
 δε πληρ]οιc γενομε[νου δια πολυχειριαν
 επιπαρ]ενησαν κα[ι της αλλης πολεωc οcον
 εδυνα]ντο απο του [μετεωρου πλειστον ε
 πιcχει]ν εμβαλον[τεc δε πυρ ξυν θειωι
 και πιcσει η]ψ[αν την υλην·

77. 3

5 κα[ι: or perhaps κ, i.e. κ(αι)

Fr. 1 col. i

2 ωσπερ η γη del. Marchant.

φοροιτο: of the second letter there seems to be more ink than is accounted for by ο; φερ- corrected to φορ-, at a guess.

3-4 επε[σχον with c M Pm, rightly: επασchon AB EF.

4-5 ορυξαντες: ωρυξαν τε Pm.

5 The papyrus will have had the και, deleted by Herwerden.

6 Considerations of space make it most likely that the papyrus had the τδ, which is absent from Pm (test. Hude).

8-9 ανυτειν edd.: ανυτειν G ABEM: ανυττειν C F: ανοιγειν Pm. The syllabification shows that the papyrus had a single tau. What at first looks like a breathing on α is in fact the top of the nu that precedes.

10 αει with codd.: αει edd.

11 ουδε ουτως Pm (test. Hude).

12 Or δυναιτω, with Pm.

15-16 αυ[του αρξάμενοι: ordine inverso M, cf. ii 12.

16 βραχεωc Pm. (test. Hude).

17-18 εc[ωικοδομουν with c Pm: προσ- b.

20 Presumably προ[[χωρουντας, with G AEFM Pm, rightly (προωχρουντας B); προ[[χωρουντας with Ca.c. and Ud would give a highly irregular division.

col. ii

No major discrepancies with the transmitted text are indicated.

1 After τ[], further traces on a loose fibre, unidentifiable.

2 α)|φειεσαν, i.e. ἀφίεσαν.

9-10 The papyrus evidently had ἐλείν τὴν πόλιν: τὴν πόλιν ἐλείν Α.

12 αὐτοῖς π[ειράσαι: ord. inv. M.

Fr. 2

A detached scrap from the column immediately successive to col. ii of the bigger fragment. Since that column's foot is preserved, it is clear that only a single line is lost from the top of this next column. The line divisions are not certain, but likely enough.

1-2 The witnesses are split between φακέλλου and φακέλου, and between παρέβαλλον and παρέβαλον; there is no guarantee of the papyrus' text.

2-3 πρώτο(ν) | τοῦ τε τε]ίχους, incorporating Hude's <τε>, would be equally acceptable.

3890. THUCYDIDES ii, colophon

49 5B.99/D(37-8)b

3.5 × 4.5 cm

Third century

Presumable end-title, broken on all sides, in an inelegant 'severe' style. I do not recognize the hand. Back blank.

Θο]υκυδι[δου
]·β· [
] ἱστοριων [

The word order, β ἱστοριῶν rather than ἱστοριῶν β, is abnormal.

3891. THUCYDIDES iii 16-17

22 3B.15/C(6-9)c

10.5 × 8.1 cm

Second century

A fragment with remains of two columns, written in a smallish, plain, oval and backward-sloping hand, as it were an undecorated version of XXVII 2454. The hand is the same as that of XVII 2100, Thuc. bks. iv, v and viii (no published plate, but I have seen a photograph), and 3891 evidently comes from the same set of rolls (one per book?). In its slope and its plainness, which is the product of a total lack of ornamentation and of thick-thin contrast, the script resembles that of the 'Aristoxenus' papyrus I 9 + XXXIV 2687; but its tighter lateral constriction and more rigorous control of descenders, together with its greater consistency in letter formation, give it a neater, less sprawling appearance. The script of the Cercidas papyrus, VIII 1082, is comparable but executed with more flourish (the long thin tails of ρ, τ, υ are extraordinary); the copyist of 1082, according to Grenfell and Hunt, is responsible also for the Thucydides manuscript X 1247 (no published plate), which has a similar

format to the present manuscript (35 lines to the column). III 409 + XXXIII 2655, a less plain hand done with flair, may also be compared; and that hand, unlike those so far mentioned, shares the v-shaped υ of 3891. (υ, however, is one of the more stylistically fluid letters: two distinct forms may occur in the same ms., e.g. X 1233, XXXV 2737, IV 664, all 2nd or 3rd cent.) Cf. too X 1233 and XXI 2307 (which I should be inclined to attribute to one and the same copyist). A second-century date may be assigned; more precise delimitation is difficult, but I should not put it either very early or very late within the century.

As well as the high stop and paragraphus, there is a more unusual form of punctuation, if it may be so called: the text is at frequent intervals articulated by means of gaps (such as by modern convention are interposed between each word). We are to recognize a system of demarcating *cola* and *commata*, intended no doubt to facilitate ἀνάγνωσις by marking the pauses. Other Thucydides mss. which employ the system are apparently I 16, XLV 3234 + 3883 above, and P. Har. 41; cf. e.g. 9 + 2687, X 1248; all of comparable date. There are no other lectional aids. Column width c. 5.4 cm, occupied by c. 24 letters; column height c. 20 cm (by calculation), about 39 or 40 lines. The text was corrected, but whether against a second exemplar is impossible to say. Back blank.

There are several readings of interest, though none that is both new and manifestly true. An agreement with F at ii 9-10.

| col. i | | col. ii | |
|--------|------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| |].πελ[οπονν]η | |].ποτειδαι (17.4) |
| | κουηδοκοιαυ]τοις οιδελα | iii 16. 2 | αν[διδρ]αχο[ιοπλιτ]αι ε |
| | κεδαιμονιοιο]ρωντες πο | | φρουρον· αυτωιγα[ρ]καιυπη |
| | λυντον παραλο]γον τατα | | ρετηι δραχμηελαμβανε |
| 5 | ποτωνλεσβιω]νηθεντα | 5 | τησημερα τριςχιλιομεν |
| | ηγουντουκα]ληθηαπ[ο]ρα | | οιπρωτοι· ωνουκελας σους |
| | νομιζοντεςως]α[υτο]ι[ς] κα[ι | | δ[ε]επολιορκησαν εξακοσιοι |
| | οιξυμμαχοιαμ]αουπαρ[η | | [δε]καιχιλιοι μεταφορμιωνδ |
| | σανκαιηγγελ]λοντοαιπε | | οιπροπαρ[η]λθον· νηεστε α |
| 10 | ριτηνπελοπο]ννησοντρι | 10 | (—) πασαιτοναυτον μισθον ε |
| | ακοντανηεστ]ωναθηναι | | φδρονταμενοννχρημα[τα |
| | ωντηνπεριοι]κιδααυτων | | ουτ[ω]ςυ]παγαλ[ωθητοπρω |
| | πορθουσαιαν]εχωρησανε | | τονκ[αι |
| | ποικουστερο]νδεναυτι | 16. 3 | |
| 15 | κονπαρεσκευ]αζον [ο]τιπεμ | | |

The above transcription approximately reproduces the manuscript's own articulation.

col. i

2 δοκοίη, δοκεῖ not excluded.

4 α|[πο: ὑπό codd. *Utrum in alterum* is hardly answerable. This use of ἀπό is late Greek but is also perfectly Thucydidean (cf. e.g. iii 82. 7, vi 32. 3, viii 14. 2). I would suppose the papyrus to have greater authority than the later manuscripts, especially in view of its having been corrected.

5 τοῦ Λεσβίου K, excluded.

6 Before ἀπορα the medieval mss. have καί, which is necessary to the sense. Between η and α there is some ink at mid-letter level, and above the line very slight and very faint traces. Perhaps, then, the omission was made good, but abrasion precludes certainty.

7 νομίσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ K.

9 καὶ αὶ codd. The papyrus again seems to have been without καί (the traces of τρ are minimal, but αἶπε well suits the rest); once again, it may conceivably have been added above the line. If καί is right, it must mean 'in addition' to the hundred Athenian ships just mentioned (16. 1) as making raids at will on the Peloponnesian coast. But there is a larger problem impinged on here. The identity of this fleet of thirty is far from clear. There are various difficulties in referring it to Asopius' squadron of c. 7; hence Steup proposed the deletion of τριάκοντα, identifying these ships with the fleet of 100. The presence of καί, if retained, seems to me a severe obstacle to this solution. The papyrus removes this obstacle, but at the same time it reinforces the authority of τριάκοντα. I cannot see that the papyrus helps, and rather than supposing the καί to be intrusive in the medieval manuscripts it may be better to assume scribal omission in the papyrus, perhaps by a sort of haplography.

10 Πελοπόννησον c, as usual.

15 ττ: ὅτι codd. Between ν and τ the surface is blank. If ο was originally written, abrasion has removed all trace of it: if it was not, it should have been.

col. ii

Chapter 17 is regarded by many scholars as an interpolation. If it is, we now know it to have gained its place in the text by the second century—no great surprise.

3 αὐτωι. No trace of a breathing. The paradosis is split between αὐτῶ and αὐτῷ.

6 ελας couc. The gap is due to an evidently original crease in the papyrus, and is not to be compared with the spaces deliberately left between *commata*.

9 προπαρηλθον: προσηλθον codd. and the papyrus' corrector. (π written above ρ; it is not clear that the scribe's π was cancelled, but presumably that is at least the intention.) The fact that προπαρηλθῆναι is an unattested (but unexceptionable) compound might have been taken as a point in favour of the papyrus' original reading here. But to say that Phormio's force 'had arrived earlier' (than the other 3000) contradicts Thucydides' account in i 61–64. And it is no use adding this inconsistency to the arguments against the authenticity of c. 17, for with προπαρηλθον the sentence itself becomes self-contradictory; οὐ πρότωι leaves no room for doubt. A simple slip, then, if a rather odd one.

9–10 απασαι: αὶ πάσαι codd., except for F, which had ἀπάσαι (later changed to αὶ πάσαι), now invested with ancient authority. ἀπάσαι seems acceptable in itself, and *utrum in alterum* is perhaps in its favour. Cf. vii 60. 4 in XI 1376 (P¹⁸: απασαι a.c., αι πασαι b.c. with codd.), where however the article seems needed.

10, 11 The corrector cancelled the scribe's paragraphus by enclosing it within tiny brackets, and put a paragraphus in the correct position beneath the following line (the sentence ends at ἔφερον). Cf. XXI 2291 ii 5. Perhaps the scribe was copying from an exemplar with longer lines, and mistook the location of the sentence ending. If I have correctly identified the trace before ταμεν in 11 as the right-hand upright of ν, the sentence-end was attended by neither space nor stop.

The scribe apparently wrote ε|φορον (not εφορουν: no room); φορμωνον shortly above (line 8) may have played a part. The corrector corrected.

12 ὕ]παγαλ[ώθη as codd.: ὑπανηλώθη edd.

3892. THUCYDIDES iii 71

112/23(c)

5.8 × 13.0 cm

Second century

A piece from the upper part of a single column, written in a medium-sized 'severe' style to be assigned probably to the second half of the second century. The column was narrow, c. 4.5 cm; height unknown; upper margin at least 3.3 cm. Punctuation by high point and paragraphus. On the back, broken documentary remains of some kind of account.

One new reading (5).

| | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------|
| | αλλ η μ[ιαι νη | iii (71. 1) |
| | [[ι]] ηκυχαζ[οντας | |
| | το δε πλεο[ν πο | |
| | λεμιον η[γεις | |
| 5 | θαι· ως τε ε[ι]π[ον | |
| | και επικυρω[| |
| | και ηναγκα[| |
| | σαν την γνω[| |
| | μην· πεμπ[ου | 71. 2 |
| 10 | κι δε και ες τα[ς | |
| | αθηνας ευθυ[ς | |
| | πρεσβεις πε[ρι | |
| | τε των πεπρα[| |
| | γμενων διδ[α | |
| 15 | ξοντας ως ξυ[ν | |
| | εφερε και το[υς | |

2 ι (without trema) is crossed through, it seems by the first hand. Perhaps νη|ι was deemed unsatisfactory, and changed to νηι|.

5 τε: δε codd. A mistake, it would seem. ὡς τε occurs nowhere in Thucydides (at least, nowhere in the OCT), and further instances of ὡς δε ..., καὶ ... are found at ii 93. 4, iv 8. 9, viii 8. 4 and 27. 5.

9/10 No trace of a paragraphus, though it may possibly have been lost.

12 πρεσβης perhaps not excluded.

15 Either side of ως is a tiny dot of ink at mid-line level, and likewise below each of the two letters. As cancellation signs they would be very abnormal (dots above the letters are conventional): maybe merely casual.

3893. THUCYDIDES iii 80

27 3B.41/B(4-5)a

5 × 5 cm

Second century

A scrap written in a round and upright hand of familiar type, mid-way in style between XLV 3209 (less informal) and 3212 (more informal); cf. X 1249, XIII 1619, XVIII 2159-64, PSI XIV 1387, and (smaller) XLIV 3157. It may be assigned to the second century, perhaps the first half. Notable letters are ρ, which does not descend below the line, curling to the right at its foot, and the loosely made κ. In lines 4 and 5 a word-initial alpha is enlarged (*Ἀθηναίων*, ἄς); the same phenomenon in XVII 2105, of similar script and date. Back blank.

ημερα]ς δηω[σαντες
την γην απε]πλευσαν κ[αι υπο νυκ
τα αυτοις] εφρυκτωρηθησαν ε[ξη
κοντα νηες] αθηναίων προσπ[λε
5 ουσαι απο λευκα]δος ας ρι αθη[ναι
οι πυνθανομενοι τ]ην c[τ]ασι[ν και
τας μετ αλκιδου ν]αυς ε[πι κερκυ

iii (80. 2)

The line divisions are only *exempli gratia*.

1 Not δηω-.

3894. THUCYDIDES iii 83

28 4B.62/B(1-2)d

4.5 × 8.5 cm

Third century

A scrap in what looks like the same hand as 3882 above (bk. i); here however the column width seems to have been slightly less. Unfortunately it breaks off just short of the suspect chapter 84, obelized in antiquity. A few faint documentary traces are visible on the back.

πουν η πιστε]υ[σα]ι εδ[υναντο
και οι φα]υλοτ[ε]ροι γν[ωμην
ως τα πλει]ωι π[ερι]εγω[ον
το τωι γ]αρ δεδ[ιε]γαί τ[ο τε

iii 83. 3

3894. THUCYDIDES III 83

87

5 αυτων ενδ]εες και το των [εν
αντων] ξυνετον μη λ[ογοις
τε ηςσους] ωσι και εκ του [πολυ
τροπου] αυτων της γνω[μης
φθασω]σι προεπιβουλευ[ομε
10 νοι τολμ]ηρωσ προς τα ερ[γα ε
χωρου]ν οι δε καταφρον[ουντες
καν προα]ιθεσθαι και ερ[γωι ου
δεν σφας] δειν λαμβ[α]νειν α γνω
μη εξεε]τ[ιν α]φ[αρκτοι

Line divisions are only *exempli gratia*. 3 γ[γ], γ not excluded above it, in anomalous position for a stop: casual?

12 The second ι has some ink

3 Leg. πλείω, -εγγυ-.
9 προ-: προσ- C.
13 σφας] δειν: δειν σφας Ga.c.

3895. THUCYDIDES iii 23, 94

Fr. 1 72/26(c)

11.3 × 3.5 cm

Third century

Fr. 2-3 22 3B.14/D(2-5)a

Fr. 2 6.5 × 6.5 cm

Scraps brought together on the basis of their handwriting, an accomplished 'Biblical Uncial' which I should be inclined to assign to the third century, though I do not suppose the fourth is out of the question. The hand is apparently not the same as that responsible for XLVII 3327 (Thuc. ii), for here μ has its bow pointed not curved; nor is it the same as X 1245 (Thuc. i; excluded from G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*), of which I have seen a photograph; also reported as being in Biblical Uncial is P. Oxy. inv. 22 3B.87/B(1), published in *Emerita* 40 (1972) 397-400 (Thuc. vii). The ink is black. Column width c. 7 cm., height, by calculation from fr. 2 (but see on fr. 1 ii), c. 12 cm., occupied by about 20 lines; intercolumnium c. 2.5 cm. Back blank, except for a few rubbed and faded traces on the back of fr. 1, which may or may not be the remains of writing.

Not much of the lectional apparatus is in evidence: a stop in middle-high position (fr. 1 i 5), an acute accent at fr. 1 i 3. Iota adscript not written (fr. 2 i 4).

A textual variant may be indicated at fr. 2 i 5. Apparent agreement with c against b at fr. 2 ii 8-9.

There is a slight textual overlap with fr. 1 of the next number.

Fr. 1

| col. i | | col. ii |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|
|] | [[α]]οδους των π[υρ | iii (23. 1) |
| |]γων ενσταυτες αυ | |
| |]τοι εφύλασσον μη | |
| |]δενα δι αυτων [επι | |
| 5 |]βοηθειν και κλ[ιμα | |
| | κ]ας προς[θεντες | |

Fr. 1 col. i

1 διόδους codd. The papyrus is broken to left and above but δ[ι] is hardly to be read. A crossed-out α is explicable if the scribe wrote δι|α before catching his slip.

Col. ii εκφ[. ε might rather be read as ε in light of an apparent midstroke, but I believe that that is just ink that has run along the fibre; ρ could be ω. Placement is unexpectedly difficult. To judge from the indications of column length given by fr. 2 (viz. about 7 OCT lines) there should be a match in 23. 2, but I do not find one, unless τειχο[ς κωλυτης, but such a division would be abnormal. One can only speculate. τειχος] | {ε}κφ[λυτης (hardly εκω[λον]? Likelier, perhaps, εκ του] | εκφ[τους, 23. 4, in which case there must have been either more text in fr. 2 or less here (e.g. an omission by parablepsy, υπερεβαων 23. 1 - καταβαινοντες 23. 3).

Fr. 2

| col. i | | col. ii |
|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | .]. [|
| | |] [|
| | |] [|
| | τινας λοχησαν]τξ[ε | τηγγο[ν των αθηναι |
| | διεφθειραν επ]ειτα | ων α[ποτειχιζειν |
| | υστερον επι λ]ευκα | αυτο[υς νομιζον |
| | δα μειζονι στο]λω | τες ρ[αδιως γ αν εκ |
| 5 | 7-8 ακαρ]νασι | πολ[ιορκησαι και πο |
| | τε πασι οι πα]νδημει | λεω[ε αιει εφισι πολε |
| | πλην οινιαδ]ων ξυν | μια[ε απαλλαγηναι |
| | εσποντο και ζα]κυν | δη[μοσθενης |
| | | 94. 3 |

Fr. 3

.]. [

] υντε[

] υ. αλε[

].. [

1 .]. [minimal 2 .]., letter-top trace excluding none of ν, ο, ξ 3 .]., upper right trace
perhaps of arc, ο? Between υ and α, minimal speck and hole ε[or θ 4 .]. [indeterminate
letter-top traces

Fr. 2 col. i

5-6 The paradosis is μειζονι στόλω ηλθον, Ακαρνάσι τε πασι (πάσι C), οί πανδημεί κτλ. But for line 5 of the papyrus ηλθον ακαρ]νασι is too short by two or three letters, while for line 6 τε πασι οι πα]νδημει seems a little on the long side; so regular a hand makes possible a higher degree of precision than is usually the case. Line 6 is easy enough: πασι not πασιν (so transcribed); so there is no need to see the discrepancy as extending beyond line 5 (though it might: e.g. ηλθον και ακαρ]νασι | πασιν κτλ. could fit). For line 5 it may be worth mooted the possibility of επηλθον.

col. ii

7 γ' C<G>: τ' b. No telling which.

8-9 και πόλεως C<G>: πόλεός τε b. Unless the papyrus' text was different from both (e.g. without αίει), considerations of space definitely indicate agreement with C. Cf. 3896 fr. 1 i 2.

Fr. 3 is unplaced. I think it possible that it comes from 94. 4 (i.e. from the vicinity of fr. 2, with which it was found):] ού χαλε[πόν would make a good reading for l. 3. In that case we could reconstruct αιτωλ]ω[ν και μαχιμον οικ]ον τε (δὲ codd.) [<... >] ον χαλε[πον απεφαν]ον [. This may not seem very plausible, but for the text as given computer searching reveals no match anywhere in Thucydides, and I find few more attractive possibilities even without regard to vicinity to fr. 2 (though it might be worth mentioning 3. 11. 1, ἀπό τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλοῦντες χαλεπώτερον codd., for ομιλ]οντε[ε απο του ιε]ου χαλε[πωτερον would fit the papyrus data).

3896. THUCYDIDES III 94-95, 100

27 3B.42/H(4-5)b

Fr. 1 10 x 5 cm

First century

Three fragments from a tallish roll, written in a rather irregular round and upright hand belonging around the beginning of the Roman period. τ takes the old, split form; ε is made in three strokes and is sometimes large; υ, made without lifting the pen, has an unusually shallow cup. II 225 is a Thucydides manuscript written in shorter columns (c. 25 lines per col.) but a very similar script. (υ and κ are differently formed; ρ, confined in 3896, has in 225 a longer descender; the second hasta of ν, concave or occasionally convex here, is straight and upright there.) Dated documents with which the hand may be variously compared are B.M. Pap. 354 (Kenyon, *Palaeography*, pl. xiv), of 15, 10, or 7 BC, P. Med. inv. 70. 01 (Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*,

tav. 42), of AD 55, and P. Mert. I 12, of AD 58. Calculation from fr. 1, if I have rightly identified the remains of col. i, and if there was no serious discrepancy with the transmitted text in the lost portion, gives the number of lines to the column as about 45, occupying a depth of c. 23 cm. About 20 letters to the line, c. 6.5 cm. There will be three columns entirely lost between fr. 1 and fr. 2. To judge from the angle at which the papyrus is broken (unless it was cut), fr. 2 was folded with fr. 1, and will come similarly from near the top of a column. Back blank. Middle (fr. 1 ii 4, 5) and high (fr. 1 i 3) stops distinct; paragraphi (presumably in attendance with high stop). Diacritica at fr. 1 ii 4.

A second hand has entered a correction which may be evidence of collation with another manuscript (fr. 1 ii 4). The *a.c.* reading is what most of the medieval MSS have: the *p.c.* reading accords with an emendation by Stahl.

Fr. 1

col. i

εκπολιορκ]η
 και φ]ιζι πο
 λεμιας απαλλαγη]γαι· δη
 μοσθενης δ ανα]πειθεται
 5 κατα τον χρον]ον τρουτ]ον υ
 πο μεσσηνω]ν ως κα]λον
].[

iii 94. 3 5

10

Fr. 2

]. . . [
 δω]τον πε]ιθουσιν ωστε φι
 ρι πεμφαι ς]τρατιαν επι ναυ
 πακτον δι]α την των αθη
 5 ναιων ε]παγωγην· και εξε
 πε]μφαν [

100. 2

col. ii

οι προ]θυμως εδοκουν κα
 τα την αθ]ηναιων αιει
 ποτε φιλιαν ξ]υστρατευ
 5 ρειν· η κ' αν βιαι προ]σαχθη
 γαι· και φωκευσι η]δη ο
 μορος η βοιωτια εστι]ν α
 ρ]ας ουν ξυνπαντι τω]ι στρα
 τευματι] απο της λευκ]αδος
 ακοντων των ακαρ]γαν]ων
]. . . [

(95. 1)

Fr. 3

]. . . [
] . . . [
] . . . [

Possibly the other way up, in which case line-ends.

Fr. 1 col. i

2 και πόλεως αει φ]ιζι C<G>, cf. 3895 fr. 1 ii 8: πόλεως τε αει (vel αει) φ]ιζι b. There is no telling which the papyrus had.

col. ii

3-4 ξυστρατεύειν (ξυν- C) c AB EF: ξυστρατεύσαι M: ξυστρατεύσειν Stahl, *Quaest. Gramm.*², 11. The emendation is supported. We now know that the corruption to the present tense goes back to the first century but—provided the correction was entered in the papyrus on manuscript authority, as I would suppose—had not succeeded in permeating the tradition.

4 The diacritica clarify a potentially ambiguous sequence of letters.

7 ξύμπαντι c FM: ξυνπαντι E: ξυν παντι AB. Insignificant, given dissimilative as well as assimilative behaviour.

9 τών c: om. b.

3897. THUCYDIDES iii 98

50 4B.33/E(1-2)a

8 × 10 cm

Second century

A fragment written in a well-executed tall upright hand with little thick-thin contrast but otherwise comparable with XIX 2219 and to be assigned probably to the second century. Column width c. 5.5 cm, height undeterminable; ten lines occupy a depth of 8 cm. Paragraphi are used: no stops are visible, but high stops may have been lost in all three relevant places (1, 3, 10). Back blank.

A new reading is offered, possibly true.

ρησαν απ]εθανε δε
 και ο ετερος ς]τρατη
 5 γος προκλης το]υς δε
 νεκρους υποσπ]ον
 5 δους ανελομενοι π]α
 ρα των αιτωλων κα]ι
 αναχωρησαντες ες
 ναυπακτον υστε
 ρον ες τας αθηνας ταις
 10 ναυσι εκομισθησαν
 δημοσθενης δε πε
 ρι τε ναυπακτον και
 τα χωρια ταυτα ύπε
 λει]φ]θη

iii 98. 5

11-12 περί τε: περί codd. For the sequence 'prep. τε A και B' cf. e.g. iii 98. 1 (ἐς τε χαράδρας και χωρία), i 5. 3, 18. 2, 31. 1, 49. 3, 54. 1, 56. 2, viii 14. 2, 49. 1. Loss likelier than addition?

3898. THUCYDIDES iv 8

112/122(a)

4.5 × 9.3 cm

Second-third century

A fragment of a single column written in a smallish generously spaced 'severe' style; back blank. Column width by calculation c. 7 cm, height undeterminable. Punctuation by middle-high stop (10). One new reading (7).

σταλμεν]α υπ[ο δημοσθε
 νους· οι δε] λακε[δαιμονι
 οι παρεσκε]να[ζοντο ως τωι
 τειχισμα]τι π[ροσβαλουντες
 5 κατα τε] γην κ[αι κατα θαλασ
 σαν ελπι]ζοντες ρα[διωσ αι
 ρησειν] το οικοδομη[μα
 δια ταχ]εων ειργασ[με
 νον και α]νθρωπων ολιγω[ν
 10 ενοντω]ν· προσδεχομεν[οι
 δε και την] απο της ζακυν[
 θου των αττ]ικων νεων βοη[
 θειαν εν ν]ωι ειχ[ον] ην α[ρα
 μη προτερ]ον ελω[σι

iv (8. 4)

8. 5

The line divisions are conjectural.

1 υπ[ο: a trema may have been lost.

7 τὸ om. codd., rightly, I take it.

11 Considerations of space indicate that the papyrus did not share C's omission of καὶ. τῆς om. ABF.

3899. THUCYDIDES iv 25

8 1B.196/C(1-3)a

4 × 13 cm

Second-third century

A strip broken on all sides, written in a sloping hand of extremely common type, very similar to (but not I think to be identified with) XLV 3215 etc. It will be assigned to the early third century, unless to the late second. Like other prose works in this kind of hand (e.g. XI 1364, XXXIX 2889) the text is written in narrow columns, only c. 5 cm wide; column height cannot be determined. Also in keeping with the script is the absence of any lectional aids beyond the high stop. Back blank.

εν τω]ι παρ[α
 πλωι και εν τη]ι
 ναυμαχιαι τοιο]υ
 το]τροπωι γενο]με
 5 ν]ηι ουκ ελασσο]ν [ε]
 χοντ[ε]ς οι κυρα]κο
 ci]οι πα[ρ]ε]κομισ[θη
 ca]ν εκ τ[ον] εν τ]η]ι
 μ]εσση[ν]ηι λιμ]ε
 10 ν]α· και ο[ι μ]ε]ν [αθη
 ν]αιοι κ[α]μαριν[η]ς
 α]γγελθειση[ς] π[ρο
 δι]δοσθαι κυρακ]ο
 cioi]c υπο αρχιου [και
 15 τω]ν με[τ] αυτου [ε
 πλ]ευσαν εκει]ς [ε·
 με]σσηνιοι δ εν [του]
 τωι πανδ]η
 μει] κατα γην [και
 20 ταις] ναυς[ιν αμα
 εστρ]ατευσα]ν

iv 25. 6

25. 7

14 αρχιου: i corr. (by m. 2?) from ε.

2 ἐν: om. codd.

3900. THUCYDIDES iv 67-69

66 6B.27/M(1)a

Fr. (g) 6.5 × 10.5 cm

Third century

A number of pieces from four successive columns written in a practised 'severe' style not identical with any other of the Thucydides manuscripts published here nor with XLIX 3448-9, to be assigned more probably to the third than the second century. Columnar area by calculation c. 6 × 18 cm, occupied by c. 33 lines of c. 16 letters. Very few lectional aids, no punctuation. No evidence of a corrector's intervention. Back blank.

There are one or two new readings which merit consideration: see at ii 5, iv 1-4; but textual discrepancy at ii 9 f. and 13 is apparently due to parablepsy on the part of the copyist, cf. also iii 25. Twice (ii 21, iii 10) the papyrus offers true readings found otherwise only in *recentiores*.

col. i
(one line lost?)
(a)] πριν ξ[υ]ν iv (67. 4)
κλεισθην]αι πα[λι]ν [τας
c. 6] [. . .] ἢ α
μαξα εν] αυτ[α]ις ην
5 κωλυμα ο]υς[α] προσθει
ναι και αυτο]ις αμα
(c. 23 lines lost)
(b) c[ιοι φρουροι το μεν (68. 2)
π[ρωτον αντισχον

Fr. (a) is shared between cols. i and ii; (a) i 2 stands opposite (a) ii 1, which is the third line of the column if fr. (b), which has column foot, is correctly identified.

col. ii
[τες ημνοντο ολι
[γοι και απεθανον
τι]νες αυτων οι δε πλει (68. 2)
ου[ς ες φυγην κατε]στ[η] (c)
σαν [φοβηθεντε]ς εν
νυκ[τι τε πολε]μιων
5 ε[.]πε[πτωκοτω]ν και
των [π]ρ[οδιδον]των
μεγαρεω[ν α]ντι
μαχ[ομενω]ν νομι
[σαντες τους απαντας]
(d) ςφ[α]ς
10] . [με
γαρ[εας προδεδωκε

col. iii
[χρηναι ανοιγειν τας]
(f) πυλα]ς κ[αι επεξειεναι
68. 5 ες] μαχην [ξυνεκειτο
δε αυ]το[ι]ς τ[ων πυλων
ανο]ιχθει[ς] ω[ν εσπει
5 πτειν] τ[ο]υς [αθηναι
ους αυ]τοι δε [διαδη
λοι εμε]λ[λον
(c. 8 lines lost)
(g)
κισχι]λιοι οπ[λιται των
αθ]ηναιων [και ιππη

να[ι ξυνεπεσε γαρ και 68. 3 10 ε]ξακοσιοι την ν[υκτα
... [κηρυ π]ορευομενοι π[αρη
ξαι [τον βουλομενον 68. 6
κα]ν αληλιμμεν[ων
15 ιεν]αι μεγαρων με
τα [αθηναιων θησο
μ[ενον 15
(c. 7 lines lost)
(e)]με (68. 4) 20
γαρων θορυβουμεν]ων
20 οι προς τους αθ]ην[α]ιου]ς
πραξαντε]ς και αλλο
μετ αυτω]ν πληθος
ο ξυνηδει ε]φασαν 25 τ[ην πολιν κατ]αλα
ε]ξακοσιοι την ν[υκτα
π]ορευομενοι π[αρη
κα]ν αληλιμμεν[ων 68. 6
δε αυ]των και ο[ντων
ηδη π]ερι τας π[υλας
κατα]γορευει τ[ις ξυνει
δω]ς τοις ετ[εροι]ς τ[ο επι
βου]λευμα [και οι ξυ]ν
στραφ]εντες
ηλθο]ν και ουκ [ε]φα[σαν]
χρη]ναι ουτ επεξειεναι
ου]δε γαρ π]ροτερον πω
τουτ[ο ι]σχυο]ντες μαλ
λογ [τολμησαι ο]υτε ες
κι[νδυνον φαν]ερον
τ[ην πολιν κατ]αλα

The identification of fr. (d) is not quite certain—if it is right, it seems two copying errors must be assumed—but receives support from fibre correspondence with fr. (a) (col. ii 1-8) on the back. Fr. (e) is shared between cols. ii and iii (iii 21 ff.). The precise position of fr. (f) is not certain, but the identification is hardly in doubt.

col. iv

(h)
].ξ[(69. 2)
].α. [...].
] . υτου το [προς μεγα
ρ]ε[α]ς απ εκ[εινου εκατε
5] ρωθεν ες θ[αλασσαν της
] νι[ς]α[ι]ας τ[αφρον
] [

col. i

- 1 ξ[υ]γ: γ not γ (dissimilation).
 3 Severe abrasion; space and traces consistent with πυλας κα]; εως ε[τ]; κτλ, as transmitted (ἐτι om. B).
 5 προσθεῖ[ναι. προστεῖ[θῆναι could alternatively be read, but the amount of space available at the beginning of line 6 supports προσθῆναι, as transmitted.
 6 αὐτο]ς with codd.: in αὐτοὶ corr. G₁.

col. ii

- 5 ε[.]πε[πτωκοτων. προσπεπτωκότων codd. A different compound? ε[ς] would fit, ε[μ] not. There seems little to choose between προσ- and ἐς- here. ἐπίπτειν at 68. 5 below.
 8-12 The transmitted text is νομίαντες τοὺς ἅπαντας σφᾶς Μεγαρέας προδεδωκέναι. The papyrus' text— if fr. (d) is rightly placed—is evidently longer. The simplest assumption, adopted in the transcript, is that the papyrus had extra text between σφᾶς and Μεγαρέας. σφ[ac makes a good reading for the beginning of line 9; the trace at the beginning of line 10 is minimal and quite undecipherable. The mediographically transmitted text gives no impression of being lacunose, and dittographic error may be suspected in the papyrus, the scribe's eye having slipped from Μεγαρέας to Μεγαρέων just above: i.e. something like σφ[ac [Μεγαρέων αντιμαχομένων νομί] Με]γαρέας κτλ.
 12-17 Again an evident discrepancy between the papyrus and the mediographically transmitted text, the latter being ξυνέπεσε γὰρ καὶ τὸν (τὸν om. F) τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης κηρύξαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἵνα Μεγαρέων μετὰ Ἀθηναίων θηρόμενον τὰ ὄπλα. This time the papyrus' text is shorter. Perhaps another case of saut du même au même, this time haplographic: τὸν [τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης κηρύ]ξαι. The remains of line 13 are badly abraded, but seem to suit τὸν (om. F) better than τῶν. This reconstruction makes 13 a trifle long; perhaps τῶν was absent. There appears to have been some interlineation between lines 13 and 14: evidently the error was caught, and the skipped material added.
 21 ἄλλο rightly with Q (Mosquensis Gr. 216; thanks to Prof. Alberti for the information): ἄλλοι codd.

col. iii

- 10 After ἐξακόσιοι the main mss. have οἱ (of M), rightly omitted by Ba Pk Vd (information kindly provided by Prof. Alberti). In the papyrus there is visible after -σιοι a small dot, immediately to the right of the middle of the iota, but it is very slight and I should not be inclined to attach significance to it. There is no interlinear addition.
 16 ετ[ερο]ς. Breathing perhaps lost. Surface abraded, partly lost: εταίροις (ABEF) cannot be excluded.
 17 [καὶ οἱ ξυ]γ. Surface abraded, partly lost. ξυ|στραφέντες (ξυστραφέντες codd.) likelier than either ξυ|στραφ- or ξυ|στραφ-, cf. col. i 1.
 18 Surface abrasion. The transmitted ἀθροῖοι (α:θροῖοι G: ἀθροῖοι edd.) cannot be verified; it is hardly suggested by the remains (but nor is any obvious alternative, e.g. ἅπαντες or πάντες) but I cannot say it is excluded.
 19 καὶ om. M.
 20 οὐτ' ἐπεξίεναι: οὐτε ἐπεξίεναι codd. οὐτε ἐς below.
 25 κατ]αλα-: καταγαγεῖν codd. It is definitely λ not γ that is written: graphic error, or καταλαβεῖν? Probably the former (γ and λ fairly similar in some hands, often confused); and if the latter, surely not to be preferred to καταγαγεῖν?

col. iv

- 1-4 The transmitted text is ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δ' εἶχον καὶ διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας, κτλ. The papyrus had something different. In line 3 αὐτοῦ is a guess consistent with the traces. In line 2 the beginning is abraded, . . . [are the feet of two uprights on the line: καὶ [διο]ικ[οδομήσαντες is compatible, and would give a line of acceptable length, though a little on the long side. If this is so far right, we expect line 1 to begin with τοῦ τείχους, or possibly ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους or τείχους, but none of these is consistent with the remains; ἀρξάμενοι, however, while it cannot be verified beyond the probable ξ, is quite possible: since ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους (om. δ' εἶχον) would make an unacceptably long line, a different word order may be suspected: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τείχους] ἀρξ[άμενοι δ' εἶχον]? The reconstructed papyrus text, then, will read: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τείχους] ἀρξ[άμενοι δ' εἶχον] καὶ [διο]ικ[οδομήσαντες] αὐτοῦ τὸ [πρὸς Μεγα]ρέας, κτλ. I do not know if either of these differences is to be preferred.
 6 This line was written unusually close to the preceding one. If it is the last line of the column, as appears to be the case (and calculation of column length confirms), perhaps the scribe was concerned to keep his lower margin regular.

3901. THUCYDIDES iv 73-75

A. 13/3

14 × 11 cm

Second century

The upper parts of three consecutive columns, the first vestigial, written in an upright or slightly backward-sloping hand distinguished with loops and curls and executed with flourish. Downstrokes tend to commence with a hook, as do horizontal top-strokes, and to have finials attached to their feet. υ is made in a single flow, and all but the lower leg of κ is made in a similar movement. c and ε before the addition of the mid-stroke are apparently made in a single clockwise movement; similarly ο, which is often completed with a loop at the top. Many letters partake of the serified upright which is ι. The mid-stroke of ε is high, and sometimes extended so far as to make contact with the succeeding letter. μ is deep-bowed, ω is given its full height at the centre. Though it is clearly in line of descent from hands such as 3896 and in the elaborately calligraphic tradition of such earlier specimens as the Ibycus papyrus XV 1790 (Turner, *GMAW* 20), as well as having affinity with the likes of XLII 3010 and P. Mich. inv. 6789 (*ZPE* 29 [1978] Taf. X d; Thucydides), I know of no precise parallel to this at once mannered and fluent script, which may perhaps be viewed as an ancestor of Coptic Uncial. I would put it in the latter half of the second century, unless XLII 3076 (and cf. XVII 2105, Turner, *Typology*, plate 5b) should be taken as warning that such hands are to be dated still later. P. Yale II 99 (Thuc. iv) is in the same hand and is presumably part of the same manuscript.

At around twenty letters to the line (and assuming no major textual discrepancy) there will have been c. 40 lines to the column. Written area c. 6.5 cm (measured) × c. 24 cm (calculated). Upper margin at least 4.7 cm, a generous allotment. Back blank.

The text has been corrected, though possibly only by the scribe himself. Iota adscript. Elision unsignalled. Regular punctuation: paragraphus, presumably attended by high point; light stops unmarked. No textual notabilia.

| col. i | | col. ii | |
|---------|------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| σφα]λεω | iv (73. 4) | κοι]υλογησαμενοι τοις | (74. 2) |
|] | | των φε[υ]γοντων φιλοις κα | |
|]. | | ταγουσι τους εκ πηγων ορ | |
|] | | κωσαντες πιστεςιν μεγα | |
| | | 5 λαι[ε] μηδεν μνησικ[ακη | |
| | | σειν] βου[λευ]σειν δε τηι πο | |
| | | λει τα αριστα.] οι δε επειδη εν | 74. 3 |
| | | ταις αρχαις] εγενοντο και ε | |
| | | ξετασιν ο]πλων εποιησαν | |
| | | 10 το διαστησαν] το τους λο | |
| | | χους εξελεξ]αν[το | |

col. iii

καμιων κατα[σαντες τους (75. 1)
 τε πελοποννη[σιους ωφε
 λουν ες τα ναυτ[ικα κυβερνη
 τας πρεμποντ[ες και τους εν
 5 τη πολει καμι[ους ες τα
 ραχην καθιστα[σαν και τους
 εξιοντας εδεχο[ντο· ουτω δη
 συναγειραντε[ς απο των κυμ
 μ]αχων στρ[ατιαν

col. ii

2 Slight traces in the right margin, seemingly in a lighter ink and abraded; the most distinct is a small circle (as used for the *asteriskos*). They do not have the appearance of off-sets, but it is difficult to know what significance to give them. Not a conventional *siglum*, nor in a conventional position for such; and the generous upper margin is quite blank, so that any note must have stood in the lost lower. And not writing (e.g. a variant—none known), unless the direction is very odd. Perhaps off-sets after all.

4 *πιστεειν*: *πιστεει* codd. (That is, Hude does not report -*ειν*.) For the treatment of movable nu in the medieval mss. see Stahl, *Quaest. Gramm.*², 36.

7 *δεπειδη* (no apostrophe): *δε επειδη* codd. (That is, Hude does not report otherwise.)

10 *δια* (unless *διεστησαν*): *τοδ*: -*τες* codd. The dots signal the error, committed no doubt under influence of the previous word. The correction is not written supralinearly: presumably it was made in the margin.

col. iii

8-9 *απο των ξυμμάχων στρατιαν και πλεύσαντες* om. AB²EF (*saut du même au même* in a c. 18 or c. 35 litt.-per-line ms.?)

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

3902-3909. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF SEED-CORN

Papyri and ostraca hitherto published which are concerned with the issue by the government of seed-corn to farmers of state land all fall into one of three broad categories: (I) Applications for the issue of seed-corn, (II) Orders to supply seed-corn, and (III) Receipts. The papyri which follow fall into the first and second categories, both of which are analysed further below, pp. 99-104 and 116-120. (The third category, Receipts, is extensively discussed, with bibliography, by H. G. Gundel in *Chr. d'Ég.* 47 (1972) 204-16.) As in these two categories only twenty papyri were previously known, it will be at once apparent that the eight texts here published add substantially to our information. The analyses which follow are limited to the formal aspects of the texts and no attempt is made to re-examine the subject of the issue of seed-corn as a whole. For the early bibliography on this see P. Hamb. I 19, introd. The most important of the later studies are M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Münch. Beitr. 7; 1925) 120-62, esp. 120-9; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (=T. Frank, *An economic survey of ancient Rome*, ii 1936), 460-6; D. H. Samuel, P. Coll. Youtie I, pp. 232-6. See also P. Berl. Leihg. II 26, introd., P. Köln III 137, introd., XLIX 3474, introd., and C. Michurski, *Eos* 48, 3 (= *Symb. R. Taubenschlag* 3), 1956, 105-38.

3902-3906. APPLICATIONS FOR THE ISSUE OF SEED-CORN

Thirteen applications are now known:¹

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| P. Coll. Youtie I 22 | AD 87 | Oxyrhynchite |
| P. Daris inv. 214 ² | Domitian | Unknown provenance |
| 3902 | AD 99 | Oxyrhynchite |
| 3903 = 3904 | AD 99 | Oxyrhynchite |
| 3905 | AD 99 | Oxyrhynchite |

¹ Since all applications and orders which have an exact date fall in November or December (see sect. H below and 3907-3909 introd., sect. F), it seems safe to suppose that those applications which have a year-date only will have fallen in the latter part of the first of the two Julian years.

² Published by S. Daris, *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 179-84.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| P. Tebt. II 341 ¹ | AD 140 | Arsinoite |
| P. Coll. Youtie I 26 | AD 156 | Apollonopolite Heptacomia |
| XLIX 3474 | AD 197 | Oxyrhynchite |
| P. Hamb. I 19 | AD 225 | Oxyrhynchite |
| VII 1031 = W. Chr. 343 | AD 228 | Oxyrhynchite |
| 3906 | AD 229 | Oxyrhynchite |
| SPP XX 34 | AD 232 | Heracleopolite |
| P. Flor. I 21 | AD 239 | Arsinoite |

Of the texts here published **3902**, **3903** (of which **3904** is a copy) and **3905** are closely related and differ substantially in both date and format from **3906**. **3905** preserves the first sections of an application, while **3903** preserves the later sections but is lost at the start. Fortunately there is some overlap in content between **3903** 3–8 and **3905** 27–35, from which it is clear that both applications followed exactly the same formal structure and indeed used almost exactly the same words, though relating to different villages (for the trivial variations see sect. C5 and D below). It is very probable that **3902** followed the same formal structure, but when so much is missing we can hardly insist on this. This structure is as follows: prescript, subordinate clause introduced by *ἐπεὶ γεωργοῦμεν*, description of the plot or plots of land, main clause introduced by *ἀξιοῦμεν ... ἐπισταλῆναι*. This differs sharply from the structure found in all other applications, including **3906**, which is the following: prescript, main clause introduced by some such words as *αἰτούμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι*, description of the plot(s) of land inside a relative clause beginning *εἰς ἣν γεωργοῦμεν*, vel sim.

Apart from this substantial difference **3902–3905** conform reasonably closely to the format and wording of other applications. **3906** conforms much more closely to what may be termed the 'normal' pattern. The extent of the similarities and differences will be more apparent if we analyse the known applications in some detail. Many of the clauses described below are found in orders to supply seed-corn (*mutatis mutandis*) and this is indicated by cross-references to the analysis of these orders on pp. 116–120 below. Note that **3902** lacks sect. A–E of the following analysis, **3903** lacks A–C2, **3905** lacks E2 ff., while **3906** lacks D ff.

A Prescript

1 Addressee. P. Coll. Youtie 22 and 26 and **3905** are addressed to the strategus, who was no doubt the official to whom such applications were normally addressed in the early Roman period (**3902**, **3903** and P. Daris inv. 214 are lost, while P. Tebt. 341, addressed to the royal scribe, is rather a special case, see p. 100 n. 1). From the

¹ This is not an application from a farmer but a notification from a village scribe of the total amount of seed needed for the farmers in his village. However, in its general formula it follows closely the pattern of normal applications, though naturally it omits sect. F ff. of those analysed below.

late second century the picture is much more complicated. The strategus is still one possible addressee (see SPP XX 34), but P. Hamb. 19 is sent to the royal scribe, **3906** to a village scribe, and **3474**, **1031** and P. Flor. 21 to a commission of magistrates or ex-magistrates elected (after 200 by the town council) to distribute seed-corn. There is no apparent reason for this multiplicity of possible addressees. Cf. also receipts: X **1262** (197) is addressed to the strategus and royal scribe through a commission of ex-magistrates, while P. Flor. I 54 = P. Sakaon 49 (314) is addressed to the strategus alone; in P. Oxy. Hels. 24 (217) a commission similar to those referred to in the applications mentioned above acknowledges receipt from the sitologi of seed-corn for distribution, and P. Vindob. Tandem 11 (241/2) is a similar receipt but this time addressed to the strategus and royal scribe. Orders to issue seed-corn normally come from the strategus, see **3907–3909** introd., sect. A1.

2 The applicants. Applications from an individual farmer or from two or three farmers are the general rule; only **3905** and P. Coll. Youtie 26 are sent by large groups. However, P. Flor. 21 is sent by various village officials, no doubt on behalf of the whole village, while P. Tebt. 341 is sent by a village scribe on behalf of the villagers as a whole (cf. the receipts P. Sakaon 49 and P. Berl. Leihg. II 27); the same situation is also implied by the order preserved in P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 (cf. lines A 10–14 and B 1–13). Only in P. Coll. Youtie 22 and **3905** do the applicants record their filiation, age and scars; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B5, and the receipt P. Berl. Leihg. II 27. 20–3. No applicants mention their status, e.g. *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, contrast **3907–3909** introd., sect. B5.

B The request clause

This occurs at a later point in **3903** and **3905**, see above (and is lost in **3902**); P. Daris inv. 214 is unclear.

1 The commonest verb is *αἰτούμαι*: **3474**, P. Hamb. 19, **1031**, **3906**, SPP XX 34, P. Flor. 21. P. Coll. Youtie 22 has *χρήζω*, **3903** and **3905** have *ἀξιοῦμεν*, P. Coll. Youtie 26 has *ἐπιπροδεόμεθα*, and P. Tebt. 341 has *δεῖξει* (lost in P. Daris inv. 214).

2 In most texts *ἐπισταλῆναι* follows. It is omitted in P. Coll. Youtie 22 and 26, while **3474** substitutes *παραμετρηθῆναι παρ' ὑμῶν* (with reference to the commission to whom the text is addressed; cf. the receipts X **1262** and P. Oxy. Hels. 24). **3903**, **3905** and P. Daris inv. 214 are the only texts to add that the distribution shall take place *διὰ κειτολόγων* of the appropriate village (**3905** may add *ἡμῶν*, see line 33 n., and adds the names of the sitologi).

3 Most texts add *εἰς σπέρματα δάνεια*, with slight variations; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B4. The reading in P. Flor. 21 is unclear at this point; **3903** and **3905** are the only texts which certainly omit the phrase. The same idea may be conveyed by the words [...] *ανωμ() εἰς σπ(έρματα)* in **3905** 32, but this is doubtful, see note ad loc.

4 All texts state that the seed is required for the sowing of the current year (lost in P. Daris inv. 214). **3903** reads *ὡς σπείρομεν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι γ' ἔτει*, as does **3905** (sub-

stituting *καὶ ταύτας* for *ἄς* and adding the emperor's name). No other application has such a phrase, but all convey the same idea by some such words as *εἰς κατασπορὰν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους*, and all, except P. Coll. Youtie 22, add that the seed is to be taken from the harvest of the previous year. Cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B3.

C Description of the land

In **3903**, **3905** and no doubt P. Daris inv. 214 this immediately follows the pre-script, whereas in all other applications it follows sect. B, see above.

1 All texts, except P. Flor. 21, use the verb *γεωργῶ* (lost in P. Daris inv. 214).

2 Category; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B8. *βασιλική γῆ* in P. Coll. Youtie 22 (adding *καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν*), P. Coll. Youtie 26, **3474**, P. Hamb. 19, **3906** and SPP XX 34. **3902** is lost at this point but seems to describe the land as *βασιλική* in the docket (see line 16 n.). In P. Tebt. 341 the land is partly *βασιλική* and partly *προσόδου*. In **1031** it is *δημοσία γῆ* (as in the receipt P. Oxy. Hels. 24). P. Daris inv. 214 is unclear at this point. P. Flor. 21 does not seem to indicate the category, though the reading in line 11 is unclear; nor apparently is it recorded in **3903** and **3905**, since we can hardly suppose that it was given before the one begins and after the other ends (or that the category was indicated in **3905** 19, see note ad loc.).

3 Location; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B7. All texts record the village near which the land is situated (except perhaps P. Flor. 21, where the reading in line 11 is obscure). Some texts further define the location by reference to the relevant *kleros* or *kleroi*: see P. Daris inv. 214, **3903** (extant from this point on), **3905**, P. Coll. Youtie 22, **3474**, P. Hamb. 19 (which adds a description of the neighbouring plots), **1031**, **3906** and SPP XX 34.

4 In **3903** 1, **3905** 20 and 25, **1031** 12–14 and **3906** 12 and 17, the farmers state that the land is being farmed in the name of someone else. In P. Tebt. 341 villagers of Theogonis apply for seed for land at Argias. Cf. P. Berl. Leihg. II 26, and **3907–3909** introd., sect. B6.

5 Quality. Some texts state that the land brings in not less than a certain rent: 2 artabas per aroura in P. Coll. Youtie 26, **1031** and SPP XX 34, 2½ artabas per aroura in **3905**. P. Coll. Youtie 26 also records an exact rental for each plot of land, and a statement of this kind is to be found in P. Tebt. 341. 12–15, P. Hamb. 19. 10–11 (probably) and, at great length, in **3906**.

D Amount of seed

Cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. B9. **3906** is lost from this point on.

3903 4–6 has the phrase [δ]απανῶντ(ες) κατὰ ἄρο(υραν) εἰς <ς>π(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α; **3905** has the same phrase apart from substituting *καὶ δαπανῶμεν* for *δαπανῶντες*. In **3903** the total seed requested is preceded by the words *τὰς συναγο(μένας)*; in **3905** the total is preceded by [.....]ανωμ() εἰς σπ(έρματα), on which see the note ad loc. Nothing comparable is found in any other application.

However, the amount of seed requested in **3903** and **3905** (one artaba per aroura) is also the amount found in P. Daris inv. 214 (probably), P. Coll. Youtie 22 and 26, **3474**, **1031** and SPP XX 34. In P. Hamb. 19 the amount is slightly less than this, while in P. Tebt. 341 it is substantially more and the expression *ὄν ὑπολήμφει* is used; cf. P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 A 16 and 18. In P. Flor. 21 the amount of land is not stated.

E Purpose: to sow the land

P. Tebt. 341 and P. Coll. Youtie 26 do not include this section.

1 Cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. C1. All applications use the verb *κατατίθημι* in the future, either active or middle. It is preceded by *ἄς* or *ἄσπερ*, with or without *καί*, and followed by *εἰς τὴν γῆν* (*εἰς τὴν ἐν πυρῶ σπειρομέν[η]ν γῆν* in P. Flor. 21). At this point **3905** breaks off. A few texts add that the seed is to be cleaned of barley and darnel: **3474**, **1031**, P. Hamb. 19. The above is followed in **3474**, P. Hamb. 19, **1031** and SPP XX 34 by the words *ὑγιῶς καὶ πιετώς*; P. Daris inv. 214 has *ὑγιῶς* followed by a more elaborate phrase; P. Coll. Youtie 22 has *ὑγιῶς* only, while P. Flor. 21 apparently substitutes *σαφῶς* for *ὑγιῶς* (cf. *Berichtigungsliste* I p. 136). **3903** is the only application to omit both words.

2 Supervision; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. C2. Some texts add that the appropriate officials will supervise the sowing: **1031**, **3474**, P. Hamb. 19, SPP XX 34.

F The repayment clause

3902 is extant from here on, but SPP XX 34 breaks off at this point. P. Tebt. 341 omits this section.

1 Cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. D1. **3903** reads *ἐγ νέων ἀποδώσομεν τὰς ἴσας*, which is paralleled in P. Hamb. 19 and **1031**. **3474** omits *τὰς ἴσας*, as does P. Coll. Youtie 22, where the verb used is *μετρήσω*; cf. P. Coll. Youtie 26. 17–18, *ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς ἴσας μετρή[σ]ομεν ἐκ νέων γεννημ(άτων)*. In P. Daris inv. 214 the verb used is *ἀποκαταστήσω*. In **3902** only [ἀποδ]ώσω survives, but the rest of the expression, as it appears in **3903**, may have been given in the preceding line, see note. For the whole expression P. Flor. 21 substitutes *εἰσενεγκοῦμεν ἐν πρώτοις*.

2 Reference to state taxes; cf. **3907–3909** introd., sect. D2. Some such reference is to be found in all texts which include a repayment clause; the intention is no doubt to stress that repayment of the loan, to be paid back along with the state taxes, is one of the primary claims on the crop. The phrase found in **3903**, *ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημοσίαις*, is to be found also in P. Coll. Youtie 22, in **3902**, with the addition of *καθήκουσι*, and in P. Flor. 21, with the addition of *πάσι* and substitution of *κόμης* for *γῆς*. Other texts (P. Coll. Youtie 26, **3474**, P. Hamb. 19, **1031**, cf. P. Daris inv. 214) have more elaborate expressions, which sometimes include additional payments.

G The oath

This is omitted in P. Tebt. 341, P. Coll. Youtie 26 and P. Flor. 21, and all details

are lost in P. Coll. Youtie 22. It is given in its most detailed form in **3902**, where the farmer swears (a) that what has been stated is true, and (b) that he will act accordingly. **3903** and, apparently, P. Daris inv. 214 have only (b). **3474**, P. Hamb. 19 and **1031** state only that the farmer swears not to have lied (which corresponds to (a) above).

H Date

This precedes sect. I in **3903** and **1031**, but follows it in **3902** and P. Flor. 21. No other application preserves both these sections.

No date clause is added in P. Daris inv. 214, P. Coll. Youtie 26, P. Tebt. 341 and **3474**. P. Hamb. 19 gives only the year (no month or day); **1031** gives only the month (Choiak). Three texts bear an exact date: 11 November (**3902**), 14 November (**3903**) and 29 November (P. Flor. 21). Cf. **3907-3909** introd., sect. F.

I Subscription

Of texts complete at this point P. Coll. Youtie 26 and P. Hamb. 19 do not include a subscription. The form in which it appears in **3902** 10-11 and **3903** 17-18 does not appear elsewhere. **1031** is lost after the word ἐ[π]ιδέδω[κα]; P. Tebt. 341. 17 has ἐπιδέδωκα ὡς πρόκειται, and **3474** 32-3 has the same with the insertion of the words καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐκ νέων; P. Flor. 21. 16-17 has the phrase αἰτούμεθα τὰ σπέρματα ὡς π(ρόκειται). P. Daris inv. 214 is only fragmentarily preserved. It is the stress laid on the oath which is unique to **3902** and **3903**, and is the more noteworthy because of the additional subscription in **3903** 20-2 where the second applicant has written *εὐνομώμοκα τὸν ὄρκον* only. In **3474** the subscription of a guarantor is added (cf. the receipt P. Sakaon 49). In general cf. **3907-3909** introd., sect. G.

J Docket

Found only in **3902**, **3903** and **3474** (P. Hamb. 19 has βα[ς]ιλ[ικ]ή[ς] on the back). As the docket in **3474** is mostly illegible, it does not help us to decide what was written in **3902** and **3903**. These texts seem both to be conveying essentially the same message: a note by the village scribe summarising the request; see further the notes ad loc.

3902. APPLICATION FOR SEED-CORN

27 3B.42/D(1-2)c

7.5 × 15.2 cm

11 November 99

The papyrus is poorly preserved and contains only a small part of what must once have been a long, narrow strip. What survives is close enough to parallel documents, in particular to **3903-4**, for us to be sure that it is the end of an application for seed-corn. It was submitted by a certain Panechotes and concerns six arouras of what was probably βασιλική γῆ (see line 16 n.). The back is blank.

The hand in which the application is written is a rapid cursive, clearly the work of a well-trained scribe (lines 1-14). It is noteworthy that the hand does not change

for the signature in lines 9-11 (contrast **3903** 15-22 and **3904** 13-19). It is more difficult to say whether or not the docket in lines 15-16 has been added by a second hand. We must also consider **3907**: this is very probably the order to issue seed corresponding to the application preserved in **3902** (see **3907**, introd.) and it seems certain that it is written in the same hand as that responsible for **3902** 1-14. But the hand of **3907** also bears a strong resemblance to the hand which wrote **3902** 15-16, note especially the abbreviation used for κωμογραμματεὺς in **3907** 12 and **3902** 15. We should therefore reckon with the possibility that the whole of **3902** is a copy (made in the office of the strategus, see next paragraph). It is perhaps more likely that lines 15-16 are in a different hand from the rest of the application and represent an addition made in the office of the village scribe (as happened in **3903** 23-6).

The extent to which the text fits the pattern of other applications for seed-corn has been discussed above. It remains to consider the likely addressee. It was pointed out in the general introduction above that the similarity in the parts of **3903** and **3905** which overlap strongly suggests that **3903**, like **3905**, was addressed to the strategus. The case is obviously less strong for **3902**, where so little survives. Nevertheless the close resemblance it bears to **3903** 8-18 must make this the most likely possibility. If so, the strategus in question was Dius, who is well-known from a number of texts of this date: see **3910**, introd.

[c. 6] . . . [c. 8
 [ἀποδ]ώσω ἅμα τοῖς τῆς
 γ[ῆ]ς καθήκουσι δημ[ο]ίοις
 καὶ ὀμνῶ Ἀὐτοκράτο[ρ]α
 5 Καίσαρα Νέρονα <ν> Τραιανὸν
 [C]εβαστὸν Γερμα[νι]κῶ[ν]
 ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγ[ε]γγ[α]μμένα
 καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσῃ ὡς [πρ]όκ(είται).
 Πανεχώτης Πανεχώτου
 10 ἐπιδέδ[ω]κα καὶ ὀμώμοκα
 τὸν ὄρκ[ον]. (Ἔτους) γ Ἀὐτοκρ[άτο]ρος
 Καίσαρο[ς] Νέρονα Τραι[ανοῦ]
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) [Νέου
 Σεβαστοῦ ἰδ].
 15 (m. 2?) Περδίκκα(ς) κω(μο)γγρ(αμματεὺς) δι(ὰ) Ε. [. . . .
 ἀναγγρ() ὡς π(ρόκειται). β. η() (ἄρourke) σ.

3 καθήκουσι, κ corrected 7 τά, τ corrected 8 [πρ]ο^κ 11 Ly 13 μ^γ
 15 περδικκ^α κωγγρ^ς δ̄ 16 αναγγρ^ς (see note) ως β. η (see note) τ̄

'...I shall repay (out of the new crop an equivalent amount) together with the regular state taxes on the land; and I swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus that what is written above is true and that I will do everything as stated above.'

'I, Panechotes son of Panechotes, have presented this and sworn the oath. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, 14th of the month Neos Sebastos.'

(2nd hand?) 'I, Perdiccas the village scribe, register (?) through ... as stated above; 6 arouras of royal land (?).'

1 Although the traces would allow *καταθή[σ]ω εἰ[σ]τ* at the start of the line, the lacuna following is not large enough to contain the expected words *εἰ[σ]τ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐκ νέων*. More probably we should read *καὶ εἰ[σ]τ νέων τὰς ἱσας | ἀποδώσω*; the word order is unusual but cf. P. Coll. Youtie 26. 17-18, *τὰς ἱσας μετρήσ[σ]αμεν ἐκ νέων γεννη(άτων)*.

2 γ[ῆ]ς. The space seems too large for just eta but the reading is inescapable.

7 τὰ προγ[ε]γ[ρα]μ(μένα). Doubtful: the traces after *προ* are all most uncertain. The phrase does not occur in other applications.

13-14 All dated applications and orders fall in the last month or so of the Julian year (see general introduction, sect. H, and 3907-3909 introd., sect. F); we can therefore be confident that we should supply *Νέου* here (for which there is ample room) and that the text did not date from the month Sebastos. Note also that 3907, which is likely to be the order corresponding to this application, dates from the 14th of *Νέος Σεβαστός*.

15 κω(μο)γρ(αμματεύς). This abbreviation recurs in 3907 12; there as here (cf. the comparable docket in 3903 23-4) a reference to the komogrammateus makes very good sense, and there can be little doubt that this is what the scribe intended, even though the form of the abbreviation is somewhat unexpected.

16 ἀναγρ(). This must be considered along with the same abbreviation in 3903 26 and 3904 22, where it is more clearly written. The reading in 3903 and 3904 can hardly be anything other than *ἀναγρ()*, or *ἀναγρα()*, which seems to point to the expansion *ἀναγρ(άφω)* or *ἀναγρ(άφομαι)*; since, however, the perfect appears to be a more natural tense in the context, the scribe may have intended *ἀνα(γέ)γρ(αφα)*. Presumably this means that the village scribe is reporting that he has entered the details in the register to confirm that the applicant is entitled to the seed-corn (cf. *Wörterbuch* I s.v. 3 and 4 and IV s.v. 2(c) and (d)). Nevertheless the verb is somewhat unexpected here; in P. Köln 137. 21 *ἐσήμησαν* is used of comparable action by the komogrammateus and topogrammateus.

ὡς π(ρόκειται). Extremely cursively written and interpreted wholly in the light of 3903 26.

β. η(). There is nothing to correspond to this word in 3903 or 3904. What seems to be the same abbreviation recurs in 3907 4, in a context where a reference to the land as *βασιλική* would make very good sense (see the note ad loc.). Perhaps here too the scribe intended to indicate that the land was *βασιλική*, even though the middle of what is written does not resemble any of the expected letters.

(ἄρουραι) 5. This has been understood as an independent note (with *βασιλικής* preceding), hence the nominative.

3903-3904. APPLICATION FOR SEED-CORN

27 3B.42/C(1-2)a
27 3B.42/C(6)a

8.2 × 26.1 cm
8.2 × 26 cm

14 November 99

This text, which survives in two copies, is part of an application for seed-corn. Both copies are broken away at the top and 3903 is further damaged on its lefthand side. 3904 has a collesis approximately in the centre. The back of both copies is blank. The amount lost at the top can be roughly gauged from 3905 (cf. above p. 100); it is clear that both copies must originally have been very long, narrow strips. On the whole 3904 is the better preserved and more legible copy, but the first two lines of

3903 preserve information which is lost in 3904. Since there are so many slight variations between the two copies (in use of abbreviations, missing letters, etc.) the texts of both are given below. Line numbers in the commentary refer to 3903 unless otherwise indicated.

The first and fourth hands of 3903 are the competent cursives of professional scribes; the second hand is also cursive, whereas the third hand is that of a 'slow writer' (on whom see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 629-51). In 3904 the second, third and fourth hands are the same; the first hand is different, but is also no doubt the work of a professional scribe. The order to issue seed corresponding to this application also survives in two copies, 3908 and 3909, and the hand of 3908 is identical with the first hand of 3903: see 3908-3909, introd. It is no surprise that applicants should have been required to submit two copies of their application. The same happened, for example, in the case of applications to register a birth, see XXXVIII 2855 and P. Cornell 18; cf. also the insistence in orders to issue seed that the farmers are to give two copies of a receipt (e.g. 3908 14-15). No doubt the present application was submitted to the strategus (see general introduction above), in this case the well-known Dios, on whom see 3910, introd. Presumably both copies of the application were kept in the strategus' office. The extent to which they follow the normal patterns was considered above p. 100. There were three applicants, farming at least two different plots, amounting in total to $3\frac{2}{3}$ arouras. The amount of seed requested is the usual one artaba per aroura. Note that they ask for the seed to be issued through the sitologi of Senekeleu although the request is registered by the village scribe of Kerkethyris. Both villages were in the Western toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchie* 164-5 and 79-80.

3903

[...] υ̅ εἰς ὄρο(μα) Θατρῆ[τ](ος) Διογ(ένους) μητ(ρὸς) Τανεχώ-
τιδος ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ταρουθ(ίνου) καὶ Παρμενίω(νος)
(ἄρουραν) α̅ ὡστ(ε) ἐπὶ τ(ὸ) α̅(ὑτὸ) (ἄρουραι) γβ̅, ἄς <ς> πείρωμ(εν)
τῶ ε̅[ν]εστ(ῶτι) γ̅ (ἔτει) πυρῶ [δ]απανῶντ(ε)
5 κατὰ ἄρο(υραν) εἰς <ς> π(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α̅, ἀξιούμ(εν)
τὰς συναγο(μένας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γβ̅ ἐπισταλ(ήναι)
[δ]ι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) Σενεκελεύ, ἄς καὶ καταθή(σομεν)
[εἰς] τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγ νέω(ν) ἀποδώσομ(εν)
[τ]ὰς ἱσας ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημο(σίους)

1 ογ^οθατρῆ[τ]διογ^ομητ^ο 2 εκ^οταρουθ^ο, παρμενω 3 ὄ, ὡστ^οεπιτ^ο, ασπειρωμ^ο; 1. ἄς σπείρομεν
4 ε[ν]εστ^ογ^οδ]απανωντ^ο 5 αρ^οε(ς)τ^ο, αξιουμ^ο 6 συναγο^οτ^ο, επισταλ^ο 7 δ]ι^ο, καταθη^ο
8 1. ἐκ; νε^οαποδωσομ^ο 9 δημ^ο

- 10 [κα]ὶ δμνύομεν Αὐτοκράτορα
[Κα]ίσαρα [Ν]έρουαν Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν
Γερμανικὸν ποιήσειν ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται.
(Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτο(ρο)ς Καίσαρος Νέρουα
[Τ]ραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός)
15 [Ν]έου Σε[β]αστοῦ ἰζ'. (m. 2) Πλουτιάδης
[Π]τολεμαίου καὶ Διογένης Νε-
[χθ]ενίβιος ἐπιδεδώκαμεν καὶ ὁ-
[μ]ωμέκαμεν τὸν ὄρκ(ον). Βάκχιος
Χαιρήμονο[ς] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ. .
20 μὴ εἰδὸτ. . γράμμα(τα). (m. 3) Πεκῦσις
Διογένους συνομώμεκα
τὸν ὄρκον.
(m. 4) Ἀπολ(λ) καὶ οἱ [λο]ιπ(οἰ) οἱ διεξάγο(ντες)
τὰ κ[α]τὰ τῆ(ν) [κ]ωμογρ(αμματεῖαν) κώμη(ς)
25 {κώμη(ς)} Κερκε[θ]ύρεω(ς) δι(ὰ) Θέωνο(ς)
[ὑ]πογρ(αφέως) ἀναγρ() ὡς π(ρόκειται). (ἄρουραι) γβ̄.

12 προ^κ 13 Lγ 14 μ^η, remade 16 δ of Διογένης a correction
17-18 l. ὁμωμόκαμεν 18 ορ^κ 20 π of Πεκῦσις remade 21 l. συνομώμοκα
23 ἀπο^λ, [λο]ι, διεξαγ^ο 24 τ^η[κ]ωμογρ(αμματεῖαν) 25 κώμη^ηκερκε[θ]ύρεω^ωδθεων^ο
26 ὑ[πογρ]αναγρ(ως)τ

3904

- ἄρο(υραν) α ὦστ(ε) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτὸ) ἄρο(υραι) γβ̄ ἄς
σπείρομ(εν) τῶι ἐνεστῶτ(ι) γ (ἔτει) πυρῶ
δαπανῶ(ντες) κατ' ἄρο(υραν) εἰς σπέρμ(ατα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α,
ἀξιούμεν τὰς ζυναγο(μένας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γβ̄
5 ἐπισταλ(ῆναι) δι(ὰ) κίτολ(όγων) Σενεκελ(εύ), ἄς καὶ
καταθ(ήσομεν) εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγ νέων
ἀποδώσομ(εν) τὰς ἴσας ἅμα τ(οῖς) τῆς γῆ(ς)
δημ(οσίους) καὶ δμνύομ(εν) Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Νέρουαν Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμαν(ικὸν)
10 ἕκαστα ποιή(σειν) ὡς π(ρόκειται). (Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς)
Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

- Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ἰζ'.
(m. 2) Πλουτιάδης Πτολεμαίου καὶ Διο-
γένης Νεχθενίβιος ἐπιδεδώ-
15 καμεν καὶ ὁμωμέκαμεν τὸν
ὄρκον. Βάκχιος Χαιρήμονος ἔγρα-
ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδὸτον γράμμα(τα).
(m. 3) Πεκῦσις Διογένους συν-
ομώμεκα τὸν ὄρκον.
20 (m. 4) Ἀπολ(λ) καὶ οἱ λοιπ(οἰ) οἱ διεξάγο(ντες) τὰ κατὰ
τῆ(ν) κωμογρ(αμματεῖαν) κώμη(ς) Κερκε-
θύρεω(ς) δι(ὰ) Θέω(νος) ὑπογρ(αφέως) ἀναγρ()
ὡς π(ρόκειται). (ἄρουραι) γβ̄.

1 ἀρ^ο, ωστ', [α] 2 σπειρο^μ, ἐνεστῶτ', Lγ 3 δαπαν^ω, αρῶ, σπερ^μτ 4 ζυναγο τ 5
5 ἐπισταλ^δδι-κίτολ^δσενεκελ 6 κατα^θ 7 ἀποδωσο^μ, ἀμα^τ, γ^η 8 δη^μ, ομνο^μ 9 γερμαν-?
10 ποι^ως)L, αυτοκράτορ^ο 12 μ^η 15 l. ὁμωμόκαμεν 17 l. αὐτῶν, εἰδὸτων (ν corrected
from c); γραμμ^α 18-19 l. συνομώμοκα 20 ἀπο^λ, λοι, διεξαγῶ 21 τ^ηκωμογρ^ς
21-2 κερκεθυρε^ω 22 δθε^ωυπογρ^ςαναγρ^ς 23 φς)τ

3903

'... in the name of Thatres daughter of Diogenes, her mother being Tanechotis, in the holding of Tarouthinas and Parmenion 1 aroura, total 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ arouras, which we are sowing with wheat in the present 3rd year using for seed 1 artaba of wheat for each aroura, we request authority for the payment through the sitologi of Senecelou of the total of 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ artabas of wheat, which we shall also plant in the land and we shall repay out of the new crop an equivalent amount together with the state dues upon the land; and we swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus to act as stated above. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, 17th of the month Neos Sebastos.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Plutiades son of Ptolemaeus and Diogenes son of Nechthenibis, have presented this and have sworn the oath. I, Bacchius son of Chaeremon, wrote on behalf of them, as they are illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Pecysis son of Diogenes, have joined in swearing the oath.'

(4th hand) 'Apollonius and the rest who are carrying out the office of the village scribe of the village Kerkethyris register (?) through Theon, clerk, as aforesaid; 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ arouras.'

3903

1 [. . .] ὑ εἰς ὄρο(μα). Lost in 3904. One expects ἐπ' ὄνοματος as in 3908-3909 2, but this cannot be read. The reading at the start of this line could equally well be]υς; perhaps we should read this (note that a Pecysis occurs in line 20) and correct what follows to <ἐπ'> ὄνο(ματος). See further 3908 2 n.

2 ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ταρουθ(ίνου) καὶ Παρμενίω(νος), sc. κλήρου. For the expansion Ταρουθίνου see 3909 3. It is attested elsewhere as the name of an ἐποίκιον/κτήμα, see Pruneti, op. cit. 198, where she remarks (n. 3) that it may be the name of a kleros in SB V 7633. 10 and 16. In XXXI 2575 1 n. it is suggested that the ἐποίκιον was in the Eastern toparchy, in which case it presumably can have nothing to do with a kleros near Senecelou. A kleros Παρμενίω(νος) occurs in XII 1459 35 (see Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 194) in the Thmoisepho toparchy, and a kleros Παρμε() occurs in XLIV 3168 17. No example of this double name for a kleros is cited in Pruneti's list in *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244. On double names for kleroi see F. Zucker, *Studien zur Papyrologie = Festschrift Oertel* (1964) 105-6.

4 [δ]ἀνανῶντ(ε). 3904 3 has only δαπαν^ω. The expansion in 3903 is suggested because the construction

needs a participle; but it must be admitted that the end of the word is very cursively written and it may be that the scribe intended *δαπανώμεν* and omitted *καί* by mistake here and in 3904 (cf. 3905 30-1). The phrase used here is not found in any other applications except 3905.

7 *καταθή(σομεν)*. The middle is equally possible.

12 The omission of *έκαστα* before *ποιήσεω* is the only variant of significance between 3903 and 3904 (cf. 3902 8).

19-20 *ύπερ αύτ. . . μη είδοτ. . . γράμμα(τα)*. In 3904 17 the writer put *είδοτος* and then corrected sigma to nu without altering the omicron before it; after *ύπερ* he seems to have written *αυτου* and left it uncorrected. What he intended in 3903 is unclear.

23-4 The expression used here for the acting-village scribe is much less usual than the expression with *διαδεχόμενος*, but there are a few parallels, see *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *διεξάγω*. Persons acting for the village scribe are usually village presbyteroi, see A. Tomsin, *Bull. Acad. roy. belg.* 38 (1952) 503-5; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 147.

26 [ύ]πογρα(αφέως). See H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201-21 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 179-99.

ἀναγρ() ώς π(ρόκειται). See 3902 16 n.

(ἄρουραι) γβ. On the construction see 3902 16 n.

3905. APPLICATION FOR SEED-CORN

26 3B.47/L(5-7)a

19.1 x 9.4 cm

99

The papyrus is complete at top, left and right, but has a large hole towards the lefthand side extending down to line 24. It is incomplete at the foot, where the amount lost can be roughly gauged by comparison with 3903 (see general introduction above). It is written in a rapid, trained cursive. The back is blank.

As it is preserved, the papyrus contains the first part of an application for seed-corn submitted to the strategus Dius for the year 99-100; from what is known of the dates at which seed-corn was issued (see above, section H) we can be confident that the text is to be dated towards the end of 99. The extent to which it follows the normal pattern has been considered above. Special points of interest are the large number of applicants (nine in all, including one woman acting through a *κύριος*), the considerable spread in their age range (17-73), and the detailed descriptions of the individual plots in lines 20-7. Note also that the applicants are claiming in total for only 7½ arouras, that they are from the village of Pela but are claiming for land in a different village (line 18), and that they do not state the category to which the land belongs (unless this information is contained in the enigmatic expressions in line 19).

Δίωι ετρ(ατηγώ)

παρά Νουμ[ην]ίου το(ύ) κ(αί) Πανεχώ(του) Απολλωνίου(ν)

του Απολλωνίου μη(τρός) Διεεύτος ώς (έτων) ιζ

ἀσήμ(ου) και Απ[ολλ]ωνίου του Απολλω(νίου) του και

5 Τοτοέως μη(τρός) [. . .] η() ώς (έτων) ογ ο(ύλη) άντ(ικνημίω)

ἀρι(στερῶ) και

Τοτοέως [. . .] μη(ρός) ζεναπολλωνίας

3905. APPLICATION FOR SEED-CORN

111

ώς (έτων) λ ο(ύλη) άντ(ικνημίω) ἀ[ρι(στερῶ)] και Ἴππολ(ύτου)

Πιταίου του Πιταίο(ν)

μη(ρός) Φιλούτ(ος) ώς (έτων) λς ο(ύλη) άντ(ικνημίω) ἀρι(στερῶ)

και Πασαλ(ύμιος)

Φιλήμονος [τ]ου Κύλακος μη(ρός) Ἡλείτος

10 ώς (έτων) ο ο(ύλη) δακτ(ύλω) [. . .] ρι() χιρι() και Ὠρου Πεμζύνιο(ς)

του Αξ. [. . .] ν μη(τρός) Τ[ε]θεύτος ώς (έτων) με

ο(ύλη) γό(νατι) δεξ[ι(ῶ) και] Ὠρου Παράιτος του Παράιτ(ος)

μη(ρός) Κοή[ρεως ὦ]ς (έτων) ξα ο(ύλη) μετόπ(ω) και Νάριδος

Αιλλάιτος [του Κ]ολλούθ(ου) μη(τρός) Δημάτος ώς (έτων) μ

15 [ο(ύλη)] μετ[ό]π(ω) [και Τανε]νεύτ(ος) Πεπεμζίνιο(ς) μη(ρός) Θερμ()

μετά κυρί[ου Ἡρ]άτος του Ἡράτος του Απολλω(νίου)

πάντω[ν τῶν ἀ]πό κόμ(ης) Πέλα. επει γεωργο(ύμεν)

περι Μ. . . . ου εκ του {του} Πυθέου και ἄλ(λων)

κλήρω(ν) με. [. . .] Απολλω() τρ(ύ) Απολλω() με. . .

20 ὁ μεν Νο[υμ]ήνις ὁ κ(αί) Πανεχώ(της) εις τον πατ(έρα)

τετελ(ευτηκότα) (ἄρουραν) α [και] ὁ Απολλώνις ὁμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) α και

[ὁ Ἰ]ππόλ[υτος ὁμ(οίως)] (ἄρουραν) α και ὁ Πασαλ(ύμιος) ὁμ(οίως)

(ἄρουραν) (ἦμις)

και ὁ Ὠρος Π[ε]μζύνιος ὁμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) (ἦμις) και ὁ

Ὠρος Παρά(ιτος)

ὁμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) α και ὁ Νάρις . . . τ() και Κολλούθ(ου) ἀδελ(φου)

25 (ἄρουραν) α και ἡ Ταυ[ε]νε(ύς) εις . . . ροι . . . τ() α. λ() . . . λ()

(ἄρουραν) α (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ζ και ὁ Τοτοής μετροχ(ος) Δαμάτ(ος)

Δεξ()

(ἄρουραν) (ἦμις) (γίνονται) ἐπ(ί) τ[ὸ αὐ]τ(ὸ) (ἄρουραι) ζ (ἦμις)

τελοῦσαι κατ' ἄρο(υραν)

οὐκ ἔλασσο(ν) (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) β (ἡμίσεως) και ταύτας σπείρωμεν

τῶ ἐνεστ(ῶτι) γ (ἔτει) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα

1 ετρβ 2 τοκ πανεχω απολλωνιο 3 μλ, L, and so passim 4 ασημ, απολλω 5 μλ, δ,
and so passim, αντ αρ 7 αντ, ιππολ, πιταιο 8 μητ φιλουτ, αντ αρ, πασαλ 9 μητ
10 δακτ, see note, πεμζυνιο 11 μλ 12 γδ, παραιτ 13 μητ, μετο, l. μετώπω, so l. 15
14 κ]ολλουθ μλ 15 τανε]νευτ πεπεμζινιο μητ θερμ 16 απολλω 17 κωμ, γεωργο 18 αλ
19 κληρω, απολλω, απολλω, ω remade 20 οκ πανεχω, πατ 21 τετελ τ, and so passim, ομ, and
so passim 22 πασαλυμ, L = ἦμις, and so passim 23 π[ε]μζ, παρ 24 κολλουθ αδελ
25 ταυ[ε]νε 26 / = γίνονται, μετροχ δαματ δεξ. 27 επ, αυ]τ, αρδ 28 ελασσο τ, and so
passim; l. σπείρωμεν 29 ενεστ γ L

- 30 Τραιανού Σεβαστού Γερμανικού πυρῶ καὶ
δαπανῶμεν κατ' ἄρο(υραν) εἰς σπ(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α, ἀξιούμ(εν)
[.] αγωμ() εἰς σπ(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζ (ἤμισυ) ἐπισταλῆ(ναι)
[c. 5] διὰ Παμείτος καὶ τῶν μετόχ(ων) citoλ(όγων)
[.] κωμ() ἄσ καὶ καταθῆ(σομεν) εἰς τῆ(ν)
35 [γῆν

31 αρῶ, c), so line 32, αξιούμ^μ 32]αγωμ^μ, επισταλῆ^η 33 μετολ citoλ^λ 34] . . κωμ^μ, καταθῆ^η, τῆ^η

'To Dius, strategus, from Noumenius also called Panechotes son of Apollonius the son of Apollonius, mother Diecus, about 17 years old, unscarred, and Apollonius son of Apollonius also called Totoes, mother ... about 73 years old, with a scar on his left shin, and Totoes ... mother Senapollonia, about 30 years old, with a scar on his left shin, and Hippolytus son of Pitaeus the son of Pitaeus, mother Philous, about 36 years old, with a scar on his left shin, and Pasalymis son of Philemon the son of Scylax, mother Elis, about 70 years old, with a scar on the ... finger of his left (?) hand, and Horus son of Pemsynis the son of Ax..., mother Tetheus, about 45 years old, with a scar on his right knee, and Horus son of Parais the son of Parais, mother Soeris, about 61 years old, with a scar on his forehead, and Tanesneus daughter of Collouthus, mother Demas, about 40 years old, with a scar on his forehead, and Tanesneus daughter of Peteminis, mother Therm(), with Heras the son of Heras the son of Apollonius as guardian, all of the people of the village of Pela. Since we are farming near M... in the holding of Pytheas and the other holdings ... Noumenius also called Panechotes in the name of his deceased father 1 aroura and Apollonius likewise 1 aroura and Hippolytus likewise 1 aroura and Pasalymis likewise 1/2 aroura and Horus son of Pemsynis likewise 1/2 aroura and Horus son of Parais likewise 1 aroura and Naris for himself (?) and his brother Collouthus 1 aroura and Tanesneus in the name of ... 1 aroura, totalling 7 arouras, and Totoes in partnership with Damas son of Dex... 1/2 aroura, together totalling 7 1/2 arouras, paying a rent of not less than 2 1/2 artabas of wheat per aroura, and since we are sowing them in the present 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus with wheat, and using one artaba of wheat as seed for each aroura, we request authority for the payment to us (?) of 7 1/2 artabas of wheat being used (?) for seed through Pamis and his fellow sitologi of ... which we shall also plant in the land ...'

1 Δίωι στρ(ατηγῶ). στρ(ατηγῶ) is a most uncertain reading, but Dius is known as strategus in this year; see further 3910 introd.

3 Διεῦτος. *Namenbuch* and *Onomasticon* give only Διεῦς, genitive Διεῦτος.

5 [. . .] η(). Possibly [Τα]λῆ(τος).

6 If the reading is correct, the name of Totoes' grandfather cannot have been mentioned.

7 Πιταίου. Attested only once in *Namenbuch*.

10 δακτ(ύλῳ) [. .] ρι() χιρι(). It seems necessary to assume some scribal error here. We expect to be told on which finger the scar was and to which hand the finger belonged. χιρι() may be haplography for χ(ε)ιρ(ός) <ἀρ>ι(στεράς), but what precedes is still difficult: neither λι(χανῶ) nor μι(κρῶ) can be read, and πρίτος does not seem to be used in the papyri to describe a finger. An alternative possibility is to read δακ(τύλῳ) μ[εγ(άλῳ)] ἄρι(στεράς) and to take χιρι following as a blunder for χιριός; but the order of the last two words is unexpected.

Πεμύριο(ς). The dotted letters are most uncertain and the name is not otherwise attested. Where it recurs in line 23 the reading as a whole is very doubtful.

11 Αξ[.]ν. Αξ is not a promising start to a name but the reading seems clear.

12 Παράτιος. Here the third letter looks more like sigma, but in the second occurrence in this line and in line 23 rho is clear. Neither Παράτις nor Πατάτις is in *Namenbuch* but *Onomasticon* has one example of Παράτις.

13 μετόπ(ω). There seems to be no doubt about the reading, but it is normal to specify whereabouts on the forehead the scar is to be found.

Νάριδος. Only attested once in *Namenbuch* and once in *Onomasticon*.

14 Αλλλάιτος. Not in *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*. Δημάτος. Not attested elsewhere as a woman's name, but Δημήτρος as the genitive of a woman's name is found in III 503 2.

15 μετ[δ]π(ω). Very doubtful; for the omission of a qualifying word or words see line 13 n. Τανε]κνεύτ(ος). The reading here and that in line 25 combine to make the name certain. In *Namenbuch* the genitive is given as Τανεκνέως.

17 Πέλα. A well-known village in the Western toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 142-5.

18 Μ ον. Although traces of all the letters survive none of those in the middle of the word can be read with any confidence; the last letter might be sigma and a possible alternative reading is Μογγε . . υς. None of the names given in Pruneti seems likely to be the name recorded here; in particular Μονίμου cannot be read.

18-19 Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 200, records a kleros Σελεύκου καὶ Πυθέου, but this is in the Middle toparchy and is unlikely to be the one referred to here. The expression τοῦ δεινός καὶ ἄλλων with reference to kleroi is found several times in Pruneti's list in *Aegyptus* 55: see, e.g., p. 166 s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρου and p. 172 s.v. Δημητρίου.

19 The meaning of this line is baffling. The reading at the end looks most like μεεσι, but this leads nowhere. As remarked in the introduction, it is odd that the applicants do not specify the category of land they are working, but this can hardly be what stood here. Could it be an expression similar to that found in 3906 9-12?

20 Νο[νμη]νις. For the form, with genitive Νουμηνίου (see line 2), cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-6, 28-9.

21 (ἄρουραν) α. The figure is doubtful and depends on the figure to be read in the next line, where see the note.

Ἀπολλῶνις. See the previous note.

ὄμ(οίως). This word should imply, in the case of this and the next four entries, that all these farmers are working land in the names of their deceased fathers.

22 (ἄρουραν) α. The figure seems to have been corrected, perhaps from (ἤμισυ). If the total is correct and the other figures have been read correctly, we must have 1 aroura here. Alternatively we might read α (ἤμισυ) in this line and (ἤμισυ) for the first figure in line 21.

23 Π[ε]με(ύριος). See on this name the note to line 10.

24 τ(). ὄμ(οίως) cannot be read. The first letter looks most like upsilon surmounted by a curve and is perhaps to be read ὕπ(έρ); if so what follows may be ξαντ(ού).

25 After εἰς we expect a name and a patronymic; Πιζόων seems possible, perhaps followed by Ὑζᾶτ(ος). The purpose of the abbreviated words following is wholly obscure.

26 It is odd that Totoes is added in after the total has already been given. Did the writer just forget to include him?

μέτοχ(ος). The reading appears to be the same as that in line 33 and to mean that Totoes was working the land in partnership with Damas; cf., e.g., P. Petaus 126. 2.

32 [.] αγωμ(). The very similar phrase in 3903 6 suggests that we should read here τὰς συναγομένας; this, however, is not possible. Probably we should read [τὰς δαπ]αγωμ(ένας), cf. 31.

33 Something is lost at the start of this line where there is nothing comparable in 3903 6-7. ἡμῖν is the most likely stop-gap; also possible is πᾶσας.

Παμείτιος. The dotted letters are very uncertain.

34 At the start presumably a village name followed by κώμ(ης).

3906. APPLICATION FOR SEED-CORN

26 3B.53/H(1-2)a

15.5 × 15.5 cm

229

The papyrus is complete at the top, left and right, but is incomplete at the foot and has a number of small holes. The year 9 to which it refers must be the year

AD 229/30 since (a) the farmers are all Aurelii so that the text is later than the Constitutio Antoniniana, and (b) it is addressed to the *κωμογραμματεὺς* and we know that this official ceased to exist in the 240s (see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 113-19); within these time limits the only emperor to attain a ninth year was Severus Alexander. For the reasons advanced above in the general introduction, sect. H, we can confidently assign the text to the latter part of the Julian year AD 229. The hand is a professional cursive typical of this period. The back is blank.

The text is an application for the issue of seed-corn sent to a *κωμογραμματεὺς* by four villagers of Sincepha. It differs markedly in format from 3902-5 and, so far as it is preserved, follows closely the 'normal' pattern for applications for seed-corn as shown in the analysis in the general introduction above, apart from the introduction of the phrase or phrases from *προτεταγμένου* in line 9 to *Ἀριστάνδρα* in line 12; this is discussed further in the note. The only differences from the normal pattern are the title of the addressee (see above, sect. A) and the elaborate description of the rents on the various plots of land in lines 12 ff.

Κωμο[γρ(αμματεῖ)] Χύσεως καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν τῆς Ἄνω
 τ[ο]π[αρ]χ(ίας) (vac.)
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἰουλίου Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Σαρ. [.]. ος
 καὶ Ἀκαίραίου Παποντῶτος μητρὸς Διονυσίας καὶ Κοπρέως
 5 Σαρᾶτος μητ(ρὸς) Ταύριος καὶ Παποντῶτος Κορνηλίου μητρὸς
 Κάψιος πάντων ἀπὸ κώμης Συγκέφα. αἰτούμεθα ἐπιστα-
 λῆναι εἰς <ς>πέριμ(ατα) δάνια ἀπὸ πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος)
 η (ἔτους)
 εἰς κατασπ(ορὰν) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος θ (ἔτους) εἰς ἣν γεωργοῦμεν βασιλ(ικὴν)
 γῆν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην, προτεταγμένου μὲν
 10 Μάρκ[ο]υ Λολλίου Λεωνίδου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου Ἀθηνοδώρου γεωρ-
 γῶν πρότ(ερον) Ἡρακλείδου Πτολε(μαίου) ἀγ(ο)ρανομήσαντ(ος) καὶ
 γυ(μνασιαρχήσαντος) καὶ Α. . .
 ναρίας τῆς καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Δωσιθ(έου) εἰς Διον() Ἀγαθ(είνου)
 ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) βηις καὶ (δραχμας) ε (διώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) γ ἀπὸ
 (ἀρουρῶν) κςLῆ τὸ Ld (ἀρούρας) ιθLδῆλβ καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ)
 Κέλκου ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γλβ (ἀρούρας) γς' καὶ ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) θδ'
 τὸ Ld (ἀρούρας) ζδῖς καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ)
 15 Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου) πρότ(ερον) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Διον() Ἀγαθείνου ἀν(ὰ)
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) βηιςλβρκα καὶ

(δραχμας) ε (πεντώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) γ (ἀρούρας) ιθLd' καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) (vac.)
 βασιλ() πρ() χλ() ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ες' ἀπὸ
 (ἀρουρῶν) ιβLδ'λβξδ <τὸ Ld> (ἀρούρας?) θLῆξδ καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἀριστονίκου
 εἰς Παποντ(ῶτα) Ἀρίτω(νος)
 τῶν Α[c. 8] υ ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γδ λβξδ καὶ (δραχμας) ε [α]πὸ
 (ἀρουρῶν) ζς' <τὸ Ld> (ἀρούρας) εLῆ καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ)
 [c. 9] .εως πα[c. 14]]ς' τοῦ

2 τ[ο]π[αρ]χ 5 μητ(ρὸς) 7 εἰσπερμ; 1 δάνεια; γενῆς, διελῆς 8 κατασπ, θς', βασιλ
 11 προτ, πτολε, αγρανομησαντ, γυ 12 δωσιθ, διογαθ 13 αν, and so passim, λ, τ, σ,
 and so passim, ζε = χ', ζ, and so passim, εκτ 14 εκτ 15 ακκη), προτ, αδιων 16 σεξχ',
 εκτ, βασιλ)χλ 17 εκτ, παποντ)αρικω 18 ζς, εκτ

'To the village scribe of Chysis and other villages in the Upper Toparchy from the Aurelii Iulius son of Ammonius, mother Sa..., and Akairaius son of Papontos, mother Dionysia, and Copreus, son of Saras, mother Tauris, and Papontos son of Cornelius, mother Sapsis, all from the village of Sincepha. We request that there be assigned to us as loans of seed from the wheat crop of the past 8th year for the sowing of the present 9th year for the crown land which we farm near the same village, Marcus Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus, son of Athenodorus, having been put in charge of the farmers (?), formerly the land of Heraclides, son of Ptolemaeus ex-agoranomus and ex-gymnasiarch, and Apollonaria (?) also called Aristandra, in the holding of Dositheus, in the name of Dion() son of Agathinus at the rate of $2\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$ artabas of wheat and 5 drachmas 2 obols 3 chalchi from $26\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ aouras the $\frac{2}{3}$ part $19\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{32}$ aouras, and in the holding of Celsus at the rate of $3\frac{1}{32}$ artabas of wheat $3\frac{1}{2}$ aouras and from $9\frac{1}{4}$ [sic] aouras the $\frac{2}{3}$ part $7\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{16}$ aouras, and in the holding of Asclepiades formerly belonging to the same Dion() son of Agathinus at the rate of $2\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{128}$ artabas of wheat and 5 drachmas 5 obols 3 chalchi $19\frac{3}{4}$ aouras, and in the holding of ... royal ... at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of wheat from $12\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ (the $\frac{2}{3}$ part) $9\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}$ aouras, and in the holding of Aristonicus in the name of Papontos son of Ariston the son of A... at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ artabas of wheat and 6 drachmas from $7\frac{1}{2}$ aouras (the $\frac{2}{3}$ part) $5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ aouras, and in the holding of ...'

1 Χύσεως. For the proximity of this village to Sincepha (line 6) see P. Berl. Leihg. I 20. 28 and note.

4 Ακαίραίου. Not in *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

6 Κάψιος. Not in *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

Συγκέφα. For this village see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 177-8.

9-12 It is natural to divide this section into two parts, *προτεταγμένου* to *γεωργῶν*, and *πρότ(ερον)* to *Ἀριστάνδρα*; it is also natural to understand *προτεταγμένου*, despite the singular, with both names following. But the meaning of the word is puzzling, nor are we helped by the occurrence of *μὲν* after it, to which there is no following *δέ* nor any obvious place where one might have been expected. In the papyri *προτεταγμένος* normally means 'aforementioned', see *Wörterbuch* s.v., which is clearly inappropriate here. The simple verb *τάσσω* can mean 'assign' or 'appoint'; if the compound could mean much the same (or perhaps 'previously assigned/appointed'), the expression here might be taken to mean that the two persons named, M. Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus son of Athenodorus, had been assigned the compulsory farming of certain plots of royal land. However, this would imply that the word *γεωργῶν* applied to these two persons, which is to say the least very unexpected: Leonides in particular has the *tria nomina* and a noteworthy *gentilicium*; he must surely have been a Roman citizen before the Constitutio Antoniniana, and one would expect him to be a *γεοῦχος* not a *γεωργός*. *προτάσσω* can also mean 'put at the head of' (see *LSJ*), and the expression may mean that Leonides and Athenodorus were not *γεωργοί* themselves, but had been put in charge of *γεωργοί* of lands confiscated by the state. The two persons named in the phrase after *πρότερον* are then no doubt

either the persons to whom the land was formerly assigned, before being transferred to Leonides and Athenodorus, or the previous owners of the land before its confiscation; cf. further the note on the second of these names below. The applicants in the present text are presumably leasing or subleasing the land from Leonides and Athenodorus.

11-12 *A. . . ναρίας τῆς καὶ Ἀριστάνδρας*. The trace after initial alpha suits pi but it is not really possible to read *Ἀπολιναρίας*; perhaps *Ἀπ[ο]λ[ι]ναρίας* can be read, but *Ἀπλ[ω]-* or *Ἀπλ[ο]ναρίας* would be easier. It is interesting that VI 899 = *W. Chr.* 361 is a petition from a certain *Ἀπολλωνάριον ἡ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα*, who is asking to be released from the compulsory *γεωργία* because she is a woman; the date, 199/200, is close to that of our text and there must be a possibility that the same person recurs in both papyri. If so, the writer of 3906 no doubt made a slight error in transcribing the first of her names.

12 *Δωσιθ(έου)*. The kleros is not in Pruneti's list, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244. *εἰς Διον()*. Probably *Διον(ύειον)*. The expression should mean that the present applicants are not the original farmers, but have taken over from *Διον()* and *Papontos* (line 17).

Ἀγαθ(είνου). Restored from line 15.

13 ff. The fractions of the artaba used in indicating the rent on the various plots are most unexpected. The commonest divisions of the artaba are in the series $\frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{6}, \frac{1}{12}$, etc.; in the series $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}$, it was not the practice to include fractions smaller than $\frac{1}{8}$. See *W. Gdz.* lxix, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* 1376, P. Fay. 101, introd., D. H. Fowler, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 273-4.

It is equally unexpected to find the rent recorded in both kind and money. J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 111-12, remarks that he has found no example of the rent on a plot of land being paid partly in kind and partly in money in the same year (cf. also P. Merton III 107. 13 n.). Here the writer may be indicating the amount of rent on the various plots in any given year, either in kind or in money according to whether they were sown with grain or a rest-crop; or it may be that each individual plot had its own system of rotation in every year.

14 *Κέλευ*. This would appear to be a Roman name and as such is most unexpected as the name of a kleros. Pruneti, in her list cited in line 12 n., quotes a number of Roman names in her Appendix of doubtful names, but none of these is certainly the name of a kleros. In her main list the only name quoted which is in any way comparable is *Λουκίου* (p. 186, quoted from PSI IX 1070. 13).

For the calculation in the second half of this line to be correct, the first figure should be $9\frac{3}{4}$ arouras.

15 *Ἀκκληπ(ιάδου)*. Pruneti's list, cited in line 12 n., p. 170, records one example of a kleros with this name, but as it is in the Lower toparchy it is unlikely to be the kleros referred to here.

16 *βαειλ()*. Although cursively written the reading looks probable, especially when compared with the same word in line 8.

πρ() χλ(). The first abbreviation consists of rho with the loop either remade or followed by a tiny omicron, and with a curve over it such as often indicates pi in abbreviations. What follows might be read *χα()*, which suggests the phrase *πρὸς χαλκόν*; however, this phrase seems to be confined to Ptolemaic texts and to be used in rather different contexts from the present one, cf. *W. Gdz.* lxiii-iv, and the reading *χλ()* looks preferable. The purpose of these abbreviations is wholly unclear.

17 After the first fraction more seems to have been written than just the symbol for arouras; on the other hand the scribe has certainly not inserted *τὸ Λδ*, which is essential to make sense; cf. line 18 n.

Ἀριστονίκου. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 170, records a kleros *Ἀριστο[]* in the Upper toparchy from PSI IX 1070. 8, which may be the one referred to here.

18 Again it is necessary to insert *τὸ Λδ* to make sense; cf. line 17 n.

3907-3909 ORDERS TO SUPPLY SEED-CORN

There are now thirteen known orders:¹

| | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|
| SB V 8755 ² | 78 or 49 BC | Heracleopolite |
| SB V 8756 ² | c. 78 or 49 BC | Heracleopolite |
| P. Lond II 256d (pp. 97-8) ³ | AD 11 | Arsinoite |

3907-3909. ORDERS TO SUPPLY SEED-CORN

| | | |
|---|-----------|--------------|
| P. Lond II 256e (pp. 96-7) = <i>W. Chr.</i> 344 | AD 11 | Arsinoite |
| P. Vindob. Tandem 9 II ⁴ | AD 12 | Arsinoite |
| P. Köln III 137 | AD 88 | Oxyrhynchite |
| XVIII 2185 | AD 92 | Oxyrhynchite |
| 3907 | AD 99 | Oxyrhynchite |
| 3908 = 3909 | AD 99 | Oxyrhynchite |
| VII 1024 | AD 129 | Oxyrhynchite |
| XLI 2956 | AD 148 | Oxyrhynchite |
| SB X 10614 = P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 | AD 167 | Arsinoite |
| P. Stras. 283 ⁵ | C. AD 170 | Arsinoite |

The two examples from the Ptolemaic period and those from the reign of Augustus not surprisingly differ somewhat from the others. All the later orders follow much the same pattern. The extent to which 3907 and 3908 follow this pattern will be clear from the following analysis (3909 is merely a duplicate of 3908 and is not considered separately). Both 3907 and 3908 are incomplete at the start; the probability is that they will have followed closely the pattern found in the other Oxyrhynchite examples (P. Köln 137, 2185, 1024 and 2956) in the missing parts (sections A-B₅ of the following analysis).

A Prescript

1 Sender. Normally the strategus (cf. 3902-3906 introd., sect. A1): SB 8755-6 (see *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 61, and L. Mooren, *Aulic Titulature*, 099 on p. 108), P. Köln 137, 2185, 1024, 2956, P. Berl. Leihg. 26 and P. Stras. 283. P. Lond. 256e is from an imperial slave. For P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 see below, footnotes 3 and 4.

2 Addressee. One or more sitologi.

3 All texts except SB 8755-6 include *χαίρειν* at this point.

¹ On the dates see p. 99 n. 1.

² First published by H. Zilliacus in *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 70-5, and subsequently commented on by U. Wilcken in *Archiv* 13 (1939) 223-5. Zilliacus remarks that the date must be 78/7 or 49/8 BC and is inclined to favour the later date for palaeographical reasons; Wilcken prefers the earlier date. SB 8756 is not dated but must belong in or about the same year as SB 8755.

³ This is closely related to P. Lond. 256e but is not, like P. Lond. 256e, a normal order to supply seed; it is an instruction from the leaders of a group of farmers, together with the toparch and village scribe, to issue to them the seed authorised by the relevant officials. Some improvements to the text are suggested in the notes to P. Vindob. Tandem 9.

⁴ This is also an instruction from the leaders of the farmers, not from government officials, and in general corresponds closely to P. Lond. 256d.

⁵ This text has not been used in any earlier discussion of seed-corn, but it is undoubtedly an order to supply seed-corn (as the editor recognised). It is very fragmentarily preserved, but we can now see that it must have followed closely the pattern of P. Berl. Leihg. 26.

B The instruction

- 1 All texts use the verb *μέτρῃσον/μετρήσατε*.
- 2 SB 8755-6, P. Köln 137, **2185**, **1024**, **2956**, P. Berl. Leihg. 26 and P. Stras. 283 add that the royal scribe jointly authorises the instruction (all use the verb *συνεπιστέλλοντος*). The same idea is conveyed in different words in P. Lond. 256e. 2-3, P. Lond. 256d. 10-11 and P. Vindob. Tandem 9. 17-19.
- 3 All texts state that the seed is to be used for the sowing of the current year and all except SB 8755-6, P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 add that it is to be taken from the preceding year's harvest; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. B4.
- 4 All texts include the words *εἰς σπέρματα δάνεια*, vel sim., except P. Lond. 256e, which has only *εἰς δάνεια*, **2185** which has only *εἰς σπ(έρματα)*, and P. Köln 137 which apparently omits the phrase altogether (P. Stras. 283 is lost); cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. B3.
- 5 The recipients are specified in the dative. In P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 their filiation is added; P. Köln 137, **2185**, **1024** and **2956** record filiation, ages and scars; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. A2. In SB 8755 the recipient belongs to the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί*; in SB 8756 he is a *katoikos* with special needs; in P. Lond. 256, P. Vindob. Tandem 9, P. Berl. Leihg. 26 and no doubt P. Stras. 283 (cf. line 9) they are *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*. Other texts do not indicate a status.
- 6 From this point onwards **3907** and **3908** are extant.
- In **3907**, **3908** and **2185** the recipients are said to be working the land in the name of someone else; in P. Berl. Leihg. 26 they are working land in a different village from those to which they belong. In general cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. C4.
- 7 Location of the land; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. C3. SB 8755-6, **2185** and P. Berl. Leihg. 26 indicate the village near which the land was situated. P. Köln 137, **3907** and **1024** indicate both the village and the relevant *kleroi*; no doubt **3908** did the same, but only the reference to a *kleros* is extant.
- 8 Category of the land; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. C2. *βασιλική γῆ* (SB 8755); *κατοεὶα μετὰ ἐπισημίας* (SB 8756); *βασιλική καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἑτέρα γῆ* (P. Lond. 256e); *βασιλική καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν* (P. Köln 137, and perhaps **3907**, see 4 n.); *οὐσιακὴ προ(σόδου?)* (**2185**); *βασιλική γῆ* and *προσοδικῶν* (P. Berl. Leihg. 26; cf. P. Stras. 283. 13). The category is not specified in P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9; more surprisingly it is also not specified in **3908**, **1024** and **2956** (unless this is lost in **3908** and **2956**).
- 9 Amount of seed; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. D. Normally one *artaba* per *aroura*: P. Köln 137, **2185**, **3907** and **1024**; so **3908** which reads, after the total number of *arouras*, *σπειρομένας τῷ ἐνεστῶτι γ' ἔτει πυρῶ, δαπανῶσι* [sc. the farmers] *κατὰ ἄρουραν σπερμάτων πυροῦ ἀρτάβην α τὰς συναγομένας πυροῦ ... ἀρτάβας γβ'*; there is nothing comparable to this in any other order (but cf. the application **3903** 3-6). In SB 8756 the amount of seed is very slightly less than one *artaba* per *aroura*, while in P. Berl. Leihg. 26 it is substantially more and the phrase *σὺν ὑπολήμψει* is used (cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. D and P. Vindob. Tandem 9. 22). In other texts the amount of land is not stated or one or other figure is lost.

10 Quality of the seed. In SB 8755-6, P. Köln 137 and **2185** the quality is not specified. In P. Lond. 256 and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 it is merely said to be Syrian wheat of the first or second grade. **3907** has the phrase *πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδόλου ἀκρίθου κεκοσκινευμένου μετρήσει τῇ κελευσθείᾳ μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ*, as does **3908** with the omission of *νέου* and *μετρήσει τῇ κελευσθείᾳ*. **1024**, **2956**, P. Berl. Leihg. 26 and P. Stras. 283 have similar phrases with only minor variations (e.g. most omit *νέου* and all include *ἀβώλου*).

C The sowing clause

- P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 omit this section.
- 1 P. Köln 137, **2185** and **1024** read *ἄς καὶ καταθήσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶς*; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. E1. P. Lond. 256e and **2956** are similar. The same words are used in **3907** with the addition of *καὶ πιετώς* (cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. E1), and in **3908** with the omission of any qualifying adverb. SB 8755-6 have a different expression using the verb *κατασπείρω*. P. Berl. Leihg. 26 and (presumably) P. Stras. 283 omit this clause.
- 2 Supervision; cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. E2. Several texts state that certain officials are to supervise the sowing. This is expressed succinctly in **3908** by the phrase *ἐπακολουθούτων τῶν εἰωθότων*, a phrase which is also found in **1024** and **2956**. Elsewhere the expression is more elaborate: the verb is always *ἐπακολουθούτων*, to which *τῇ καταθέσει* may be added (P. Köln 137, **3907**, **2185**; cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 26 A 22-3), but the officials specified vary. In **3907** they are *τῶν τε κατασπορέων καὶ τοῦ κωμογραμματέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κατασπορᾶς τεταγμένων*. There is no exact parallel to this, but the *κατασπορεῖς* recur, together with *τῶν προκεχειρισμένων*, in **2185** (at a different point) and, in an elaborate phrase, in P. Berl. Leihg. 26 A 22-5, cf. P. Stras. 283. 16-19; while the *κωμογραμματεῖς* recurs, with *κωμοπράκτορες*, in P. Köln 137. 35-7.
- 3 Some texts state that the farmers are not to make any deductions for private purposes from the allowance of seed. This is expressed succinctly in **3907** by *μηθὲν νοσφισάμενος*, to which there is no parallel in other orders. The longer phrase *μηδενὸς ὑπολογουμένου εἰς ὀφειλὴν ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι* found in **3908** recurs in almost exactly these words in **2185** 26-7 and **1024** 30-2. The same idea in similar words is found in P. Berl. Leihg. 26 A 25-6, cf. P. Stras. 283. 20-1; no doubt the elaborate expression in P. Lond. 256e. 7-8 conveyed the same idea.

D The repayment clause

- P. Lond. 256d and P. Vindob. Tandem 9 omit this clause; much more surprisingly it is also omitted in **3907**.
- 1 SB 8755-6 read *παραδώσειν ἐγ νέων*, while the reading in P. Lond. 256e. 8 is unclear. P. Köln 137, **3908** and **1024** have *καὶ ἐγ νέων ἀποδώσουσι*; **2956** is similar, whereas in **2185** the verb used is *ἀποκαθίστημι*. This is also the verb used in P. Berl.

Leihg. 26 (P. Stras. 283 is lost). **3908**, **1024** and P. Berl. Leihg. 26 insert τὰς ἰσᾶς. Cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. F1.

2 All texts which include the above clause add that additional payments are to be made (cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. F2). SB 8755. 9-10 uses the expression ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐκφορίοις, whereas SB 8756. 13-14 has ἅμα τοῖς καθήκουσι; the last word recurs in P. Lond. 256e. 9, where the rest of the expression is uncertain, and in **2185** 30-1 (there the editor reads ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γ[ῆς] καθήκου[σι] τ[ε]λ[έ]μασι, but Dr Rea informs us that καθήκου[σι] δη[μοσί]οις, cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. F2, is by no means excluded). P. Köln 137, **3908** and **1024** have ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημοσίοις, as does **2956** with the addition of μετὰ τῶν ἐπομένων, and P. Berl. Leihg. 26 with the addition of καὶ προσμετρούμενοι πάσι.

E The receipt clause

3907 and all texts which include sect. D also include an instruction to the sitologi to obtain a receipt or declaration from the farmers. In **3908**, **1024** 37-40 and **2956** 25-7 this takes the form παρ' ὧν καὶ λάβετε τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀποχὴν διςτὴν ὧν τὴν ἐτέραν ἔμοι ἀναδώσετε, vel sim.; a similar phrase is used in P. Berl. Leihg. 26 A 28-29. In **3907** ἀποχὴν is replaced by χειρογραφίαν, and this is also the word used in **2185** 27-8 and P. Köln 137. 39-41 (in both these texts the phrase ends with χειρογραφίαν). This ought to be more than a mere verbal variant: ἀποχὴ means 'receipt', whereas χειρογραφία ought to be a reference to the declaration on oath which the farmers were required to make (cf. LSJ s.v. 2 and **3902-3906** introd., sect. G); for these χειρογραφίαι see Gundel, *Chr. d'Eg.* 47 (1972) 204-16. The difference comes out clearly in SB 8755-6, which contain both an instruction to the sitologus to get from the recipient a χειρογραφία ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ to sow the land and repay the seed, and a receipt clause in the Ptolemaic form (SB 8755. 12, 8756. 15). Likewise in P. Lond. 256e. 4-5 the sitologus is instructed to get the customary χειρογραφία stating that the farmers will sow the seed properly and repay the loan, while later, in line 10, he is further instructed to λάβε τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀποχ[ή]ν.

F Date

The earliest date attested is 28 October (P. Vindob. Tandem 9) and the latest 24 December (P. Berl. Leihg. 26) or perhaps 28 December (see **2956** 30 n.). Both **3907** and **3908** fall within these time limits. Cf. **3902-3906** introd., sect. H.

G Signature

Most texts, even when complete, do not have a signature at the foot. **3907** and **3908** are therefore in no way unusual in omitting a signature. Only three texts include this section: in **1024** the royal scribe signs as acting-strategus, while in **2956** and P. Berl. Leihg. 26 both the strategus and the royal scribe sign.

3907. ORDER TO SUPPLY SEED-CORN

27 3B.42/D(1-2)b

7.8 × 15.2 cm

11 November 99

The papyrus is complete on all sides except the top, where a good deal of the original document has been lost. What survives is the end of an order to supply seed-corn, no doubt issued by the strategus to two or more sitologi (cf. the plural λάβετε in lines 14-15). It is very probable that it is the order corresponding to the application preserved in part in **3902**: as the inventory numbers show, both papyri were found together; both relate to a single farmer and to a plot of six arouras; both are dated on the same day; above all, the hand responsible for **3907** is almost certainly the same as the hand responsible for **3902** 1-14 (as appears most clearly in the dating clauses, **3902** 11-14 and **3907** 17-19). The hand is very cursive, with some gross distortions of the letter-forms, but it is clearly the work of a practised scribe. The back is blank.

[. . .] .ιτ. [c. 14 letters ἐπί]
 [ὄνο]ματος Πτολ(εμαίου) το(ῦ) κ(αὶ) Πα[. . .]ου
 Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) περὶ τὴν α(ὐτὴν) Ψῶβθ(ιν) ἐκ το(ῦ)
 Φιλονίκο(υ) κ. . β. η() καὶ ἄλ(λων) εἰδ(ῶν)
 5 ἀρο(ύρας) ε πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ
 ἀδόλου ἀ[κρί]θ[ο]ν κ[ε]κ[ο]σκινευ(μένου)
 μετρ[ή]σει τῇ κελε[υ]σθ(είσει) μέτ(ρω)
 δημοσίω (ἀρτάβας) ε ἄς καὶ κατα-
 θήσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶς
 10 καὶ πιςτῶς μηθὲν νοσφικά-
 μενος ἐπακολ(ουθούτων) τῇ καταθέσει
 τῶν τε κατασπ(ορέων) καὶ τοῦ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως)
 [κ]αὶ τῶν ἄλλω(ν) τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
 κατασπ(οράς) τεταγ(μένων), παρ' οὗ καὶ λά-
 15 βετε τὴν καθήκο(υσαν) χειρογρ(αφίαν)
 διςτὴν ὧν τὴν ἐτέραν ἔμοι
 ἀναδώσετε. ("Ετους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ἰδ̄.

2 πτολτοκ 3 αλεξ, ἄψωβθεκτο 4 φιλνικ^ο, β. η, α^λει^δ 5 αρῶ 6 κε[κο]σκινευ
 7 κελε[υ]σθ^μετ 8 = ἀρτάβας 11 επακολ 12 κατασ, κωγρ 13 αλλ^ω
 14 κατασ)τεταγ; οὗ, υ remade or a correction 15 καθηκόχειρογρ; l. χειρο- 17 Λγ 19 μγ

'... in the name of Ptolemaeus also called Pa... son of Alexander near the said Psobthis in the holding of Philonicus ... of royal land (?) and other kinds 6 arouras, 6 artabas of wheat, new, pure, unadulterated, not mixed with barley, sifted, according to the regulation measurement and the public measure, and he shall plant them in the land honestly and in good faith without any appropriation, while both the inspectors of sowing and the village scribe and the others appointed over the sowing supervise the planting. Take from him also the proper acknowledgement in duplicate and you shall give one of them to me. Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the 14th of the month Neos Sebastos.'

3 Ψῶβθ(ν). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 223-6, records at least four villages of this name in the Oxyrhynchite nome, each of them in a different toparchy. The village referred to here may be the one in the Middle toparchy, see the next note.

4 Φιλόνικο(ν). Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 204, lists a kleros Φιλόνικου πρότ(ερον) Α[from VIII 1113 ii 5-6, near the village of Psobthis in the Middle toparchy (it is not at all certain that the words πρότ(ερον) Α[are part of the kleros name).

κ. . β. η() και άλλων ειδ(ών). What one expects at this point is a note of the category to which the land belongs. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22. 14 the land-category is described as βασιλικήν γήν και άλλων ειδών, which strongly suggests that we should look for the same expression here. What is written between Φιλόνικο(ν) and και is in two groups, both made very rapidly. The second group clearly ends with a raised eta and the first letter of this group looks much like beta. As a whole this group of letters closely resembles what is written in 3902 16 (cf. the note there). In both places it would make good sense if it were intended to indicate that the land is royal land, but in neither place is it at all easy to read β(ακι)κῆ(ς) or β(ακι)κῆ(ς) γῆ(ς). Furthermore, in 3907 this leaves the group of letters preceding unexplained. Although the first of these could well be kappa, an abbreviation for κλήρον seems impossible. It would be possible to read και, but in the context we must rule out a double name for a kleros so that και would make no sense. Nor does it seem possible to treat the two groups together as an attempt to write βασιλικῆς (γῆς).

10-11 μηθὲν νοσφίζομαι. As remarked in the general introduction above, this expression is not found in any other orders to supply seed-corn. For the meaning required here for νοσφίζομαι see *Wörterbuch* s.v.

11 ff. For the reference at this point to καταπορείς and the κωμογραμματεὺς see the general introduction. The village scribe is regularly associated with applications for the issue of seed-corn in various capacities: as the official to whom an application could be addressed (3906), as the person forwarding an application to the royal scribe (P. Tebt. II 341), and (apparently) as the official who authorises the accuracy of an application (cf. 3902 15-16 and 3903 23-6 with notes).

3908-3909. ORDER TO SUPPLY SEED-CORN

27 3B.42/C(6)b
27 3B.42/C(6)c

5.8 × 26.4 cm
7.3 × 26 cm

14 November 99

These two papyri preserve copies of the same document, an order to supply seed-corn, no doubt issued by the strategus. The recipients of the order will have been two or more sitologi, as we can see from the plural verbs in lines 14-16. Both copies are broken away at the top and have suffered some slight damage at the left. In both cases the larger part of the papyrus as it survives is blank at the foot. Neither papyrus has any writing on the back. They are written in markedly different hands: 3909 is in a rather clumsy but clearly legible script, while 3908 is in the well-trained cursive hand which also wrote 3903 1-15. Presumably both copies of the order were preserved in the office of the strategus. The identity of the hand of 3908 with one of the hands of 3903 suggests that the order preserved in 3908 and 3909 may correspond to the

application preserved in 3903 and 3904. This is also supported by the fact that the texts are dated to the same day and relate to an area of 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ arouras, and by the close similarity in the inventory numbers of all four papyri. Since both the application and the order record that one of the arouras is being worked in the name of Thatres, daughter of Diogenes and Tanechotis, in the kleros of Tarouthinas and Parmenion, there is in fact no doubt that the order and the application correspond.

The text of 3909 is printed as well as that of 3908 since it differs in so many small particulars. On the whole it is better preserved than 3908 and less abbreviated, but the scribe was somewhat careless. Line numbers in the commentary refer to 3908 unless otherwise indicated.

3908

[c. 15 letters] . [. . .] .
[c. 4] . [. . .] . [. . .] . υς εἴπ' ὄμ[(ατος)
[Θατρῆ(τος) Δ]ιογ(ένους) μη(τρὸς) Τανεχώτιδ(ος)
[ἐκ τ(οῦ) Τα]ρουθ(ίνου) και Παρμε(νίωνος) (ἄρουραν) α
5 [. . . .] . [(ἀρούρας)] γβ̄ ς[π]ειρομέ(νας) τῶ
[ἐνεστ(ῶτι) γ] (ἔτει) π[υ]ρῶ, δαπανῶ(σι) κατὰ
[ἄρο(υραν)] σπ(ερμάτων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α τὰς συναγο(μέννας)
[πυ]ρῶ καθ(αροῦ) ἀ[δ]όλ(ου) ἀκρίθ(ου) κεκοσκ(ιευμένου)
[μέτ]ρ(ω) δημ(οσίω) (ἀρτάβας) γβ̄, ἀ και καταθή(ονται)
10 [εἰς τ(ήν) γ]ῆ(ν) ἐπακολ(ουθούντων) τῶν εἰωθότ(ων)
[μη]δ(ενὸς) ὑ[π]ολο[γ]ουμ(ένου) εἰς ὀφειλ(ήν) ἢ εἰς ἔτε-
[ρόν] τι και ἐγ νέων ἀποδώ(ουσι)
[τὰς ἴ]ς[α]ς ἄμ]α τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημ(οσίω),
[παρ'] ὧν και λάβετε τὴν καθήκ(ουσαν)
15 [ἀπ]οχῆν διςσῆν ὧν τὴν ἐτέ-
[ραν] ἐμ]οῖ ἀναδώσετε. (Ἔτους) γ
[Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
[Τραια]νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
[μηνὸς Ν]έου Σεβαστοῦ ιζ.

2 ορ[ο]μ^ε 3 δ]ιογμ^ητανεχωτι^δ 4 τα]ρουθ^θ, παρμ^ετ 5 σ[π]ειρομ^ε 6 λ, δαπαν^ω
7 σ]τ, συναγο 8 κα^θα[δ]ολ^θακρι^θκεκοσκ^κ 9 μετ]ρ^δημ^ε, καταθ^η 10 γ]ηπακο^λ, ειωθο^τ
11 μη]δ^υπ[ολο]γ[ου]μ^ε?, οφει^λ 12 λ. ἐκ; αποδ^ω 13 δη^μ 14 καθ^ηκ 16 λγ

3909

[c. 18 letters] . . .

[ἐ]π' [δνό]ματος Θατρήτος Διογ(ένου)

[μ]ητρὸς Τανεχώτιδος ἐκ τοῦ

[Ταρου]θίνου καὶ Παρμ(ενίωνος) ἄρο(υραν) α ὤσ-

5 [τε εἶ]ν[α]ῖ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρο(ύρας) γβ, σπειρ(ομένας)

[τῶ] ἐ]νεστῶτ(ι) γ (ἔτει) πυρῶ, δαπανῶς(ι)

[κ]ατ' [ἄ]ρο(υραν) σπερμάτων πυροῦ (ἀρτάβην) α

[τ]ἄ[c] συναγο(μένας) πυρο<ν> καθαροῦ

ἀδόλου ἀκρίθ(ου) κεκοσκ(ινευμένου) μέτρῳ

10 δ[ημ(οσίῳ)] (ἀρτάβας) γβ, ἄς καὶ καταθήσονται

εἰς τὴν γ(ήν) ἐπακολουθούτων<ν> τῶν

[εἰ]θ(ότων) μ]ηδενὸς ὑπολογουμένου

[εἰς] ὀφει]λ(ήν) ἢ εἰς ἕτερον τ(ι) καὶ <ἐ>γ νέο(ν)

[ἀποδῶς]ουσι τὰς ἕσας ἅμα τοῖς

15 [τῆς γ(ῆς) δημοσ]ί[ο]ι[ς], παρ' ὧν καὶ λάβ(ετε)

[τὴν καθ]ήκ(ουσιν) [ἀ]π[ο]χ(ήν) δις(ήν) ὧ<ν> τὴν ἐτέρα(ν)

[ἐμοὶ] ἀν]αδῶσετε. (Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)

[Καίσαρος Ν]έρουα Τραιανοῦ

[Cεβαστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ μηνός

20 [Νέου Cε]βαστοῦ ἰζ.

2 διαγ^ρ 4 παρ^μαρῶ 5 αρῶ, σπέ^ι 6 ε]νεστῶτ^τγ^λ, δαπανῶ 7 α]ρῶ, σ 8 συναγοῦπυρο
 9 ακρι^θκεκοσκ^κ 10 σ, καταθήσονται 11 ττην^γ 12 υπολογουμεν^ο 13 οφει^λ, ετερον^τκαίγνε^ο,
 γ corrected? 1. ἐκ νέων 14 τοῖς 15 λαβ^β 16 καθ]η^κ[α]π[ο]χ^δις^ωτηνητε^ρα 17 Λγαυτοκρα^τ

3908

'... in the name of Thatres daughter of Diogenes her mother being Tanechotis, in the holding of Tarouthinas and Parmenion, 1 aroura, total 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ arouras, to be sown with wheat in the present 3rd year, using 1 artaba of wheat seed for each aroura, in total 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabas of wheat, pure, unadulterated, not mixed with barley and sifted, according to the public measure, which they shall also plant in the land under the supervision of the usual officials without any deduction for debt or any other purpose, and they shall repay the equivalent amount out of the new crop together with the state taxes upon the land; and take from them the proper receipt in duplicate and you shall give one copy of them to me. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the 17th of the month Neos Sebastos.'

3908

2-3 The reading must be considered in conjunction with 3903 1 (3904 is lost). In 3909 2 the reading may be taken as certain, but in 3908 it is very much less clear. An alternative would be to read a word ending in upsilon followed by εἰς ὄνομα, which appears to be the reading at the corresponding place in 3903 (see the note to 3903 1).

4 For the kleros see 3903 2n.

4-5 It does not seem possible for 3908 to have contained the same words as 3909 4-5 between (ἀρουραν) α and (ἀρούρας) γβ (in 3909 εἶν[α]ῖ is very uncertain, but there is more than just ὤσ(τε), even if there were substantial abbreviation in 3908. Perhaps we should read [ὤστ(ε) ἐ]π(ὶ τὸ αὐτό), the expression found in 3903 3.

6 δαπανῶ(σι). In 3909 6 sigma written over omega is plain and there would appear to be no alternative to the expansion given. This is to be understood as a participle in the dative agreeing with the names of the farmers to whom the seed-corn is to be distributed.

15 ἀπ]οχῆν. In both 3908 and 3909 the word is uncertainly read. The alternative (see general introduction, sect. E) is to read an abbreviated form of χειρογραφίαν (cf. 3907 15). This is less likely; in particular there appears to be a raised chi before δις in 3909 16.

3910. REQUEST FOR THE REFUND OF THE PRICE OF πυρὸς συναγοραστικός

27 3B.42/C(3-5)b

16.8 x 8.3 cm

99/100?

The papyrus is complete at the top, left and right, but is incomplete at the foot. It is addressed to the strategus by four inhabitants of Pela, three of them women, and relates to πυρὸς συναγοραστικός delivered by them to the public granary. The older literature on πυρὸς συναγοραστικός is cited in XLI 2958, introd.; for additional literature see the introductions to the following texts: P. Köln II 96, P. Kronion 36, P. Vindob. Worp 18, O. ROM I 41, P. Mil. Vogl. VI 298, and XLVII 3335. The format of the present text is unlike that of most requests relating to πυρὸς συναγοραστικός (as exemplified in, for example, 2958), but is very close to the format of 3335, the slight differences being indicated in the notes. Because of this similarity we can be quite confident that the present text is to be classified as a request for the refund of the price of πυρὸς συναγοραστικός and that the papyrus would have gone on to include such a request in the part now lost.

The date of the text is lost, but it must fall in a year when Dius was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and Pompeius Planta prefect of Egypt. Dius is attested as strategus from 20 November 99 to 16 March 102; a predecessor is known within the Egyptian year 98/9 but no successor is known for certain before 104/5: see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XV) 90-91. Planta succeeded to the prefecture between 21 June and 4 September 98; he was still in office on 14 February 100 but a successor is attested before the end of the Egyptian year 100/1: see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 279, with addenda, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 80. This gives the extreme limits for our text. However, there is some reason to think that it may belong in year 3 of Trajan, AD 99/100. The strategus Dius appears in XLI 2958 and in 3905 above; it is very probable that he was the addressee of 3902-3904 and the sender of 3907-3909, see the introductions to these texts; we may also confidently add XLVII 3335 to this list (addressee lost) because of its very close similarity to the present text. Now, all these texts have similar inventory numbers (that of 3910 is especially close to those of 3903, 3904, 3908 and 3909), which suggests that they were all found together and form a small 'archive' of the strategus Dius. Of these texts all those which bear an exact date fall towards the end of the year 99 (XLI

2959, which is also addressed to Dius, also belongs to this same period, but its inventory number is not close to those of the texts just cited).

The papyrus is written in a neat semi-cursive. On the back are the remains of six lines of writing in a different hand, which begin *Θέων Καρα(πίωνος) τοῦ Θεώ(νος)*. There is no apparent connection with the text on the front.

Δίωι στρατηγῶι Ὁξ(υρυγίτου)
 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀτρήτος
 Κολλούθου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς
 Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἡλείτος τῆς
 5 Ἀπίωνος ἀμφο(τέρων) μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
 προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλωνίου
 τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἀτρή(τος) Κολλούθου τ[ο]ῦ Ἀπολ(λωνίου)
 καὶ Μελείτος τῆς Πτόλλιδος
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ
 10 Ἀρβίχιος Πασαλύμιος πρεσβ(υτέρου)
 πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ κώμη(ς) Πέλα
 τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπ(αρχίας). κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντ(α)
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος
 Πομπηίου Πλάντα ἐμετρήσαμε(ν)
 15 εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) συναγορ(αστικοῦ) πυροῦ γενή(ματος)
 [τοῦ διελθόντ(ος) . (ἔτους) Αὐτο]κ[ρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
 [Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Γερμανικ[οῦ]
 [ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ] Ἀτρή(ς) Κολλ(ούθου)
 [c. 18] . . . [.] .
 20 [c. 18] . Πέλα
 [c. 18] . [.] . . . [.]
 [c. 18] . ἰδι . . . [.]
 [c. 18] . (ἄρταβ-) αἷ
 [c. 18] α (γίνονται) (ἄρταβαι) β[.]
 25 [c. 18] . . α [.]

1 Ὁξ
 11 κωμῆ
 23, 24 τ
 5 ἀμφ^ο
 12 το), κελευσθέντ
 24 / = (γίνονται)
 7 του^κατρῆ, ἀπο^λ
 14 ἐμετρήσαμε^ς
 8 Μελείτος, ο corrected from η
 15 δημό^οσυναγορς, γενῆ
 10 πρεσβ^β
 18 κολλ^λ

'To Dius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus, and Apollonia, daughter of Apollonius, and Elis, daughter of Apion, both with their guardian the aforesaid Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus the son of Apollonius, and Melis, daughter of Ptollis with her son Harbichis, son of Pasalymis the elder, as guardian, all of the people of the village of Pela in the Western toparchy. According to the orders of the most excellent prefect Pompeius Planta we have measured into the public granary of requisitioned wheat from the produce of the past ... year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus I, Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus ... 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabas ... making a total of 2 artabas ...'

4 Ἡλείτος. Neither *Namenbuch* nor *Onomasticon* records this as a woman's name.

8 Μελείτος. There is no entry in *Onomasticon*, and *Namenbuch* has only the entry *Μέλιτι τῆς καπηλίδι* (from P. Fay. 12. 22).

11 Πέλα. For this village see 3905 17 n.

15 εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον). An uncertain reading but probable in the context: cf. XLI 2960 21-2 (also with reference to *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*), οὐ ἐμετρήσαμεν εἰς δημόσιον θησαυρόν; XLVII 3335 has no corresponding phrase.

συναγορ(αστικοῦ) πυροῦ. 3335 g has ὑπ[έρ] συναγοραστικοῦ πυροῦ and it may be that ὑπέρ has been omitted by mistake in our text.

18 At this point 3335 12-14 adds that the grain has been deposited through the sitologi of the relevant village, and such a phrase is normal in requests for a refund (cf., e.g., XLI 2958 12, 2959 12). There is no room for this phrase in the present text in this line and it may have been omitted, as in XLI 2960. The reference to Pela in line 20, however, suggests that it may have been included at a later point.

3911. LEASE OF LAND

16 2B.47/C(a)

11 × 34 cm

199

Most of the papyrus is preserved, but there is some damage to the first 7 lines and some loss at the left in lines 42 ff. The body of the contract (lines 1-52) is written in a bold, upright semi-cursive. The back is blank.

The document consists of an agreement to lease two plots of land in the same kleros for two years, provision being made for the usual rotation between a wheat-crop and a rest-crop. For basic discussion of this type of document, of which there are hundreds of examples in published papyri, see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (1958) and D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (1967). A list of leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome is given in L 3589, introd. The astonishing feature of our text is that it does not conform to any of the known parallels, at any rate in lines 27-47; here the provisions are sometimes odd or in an unusual order, sometimes so bizarre as to be nonsensical; and we can only suppose that the document was drafted by an incompetent scribe. We are grateful to Dr. Jane Rowlandson for discussing its problems with us.

Comment on the various provisions is best reserved for the notes. Here we need only look at the overall structure of the document to see how far it conforms to the pattern we should expect for leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome. First of all, however, we must consider whether it does in fact come from that nome. This is not certain, since the village Pimpasi to which it refers cannot be located beyond doubt: see line

10 n. Against an Oxyrhynchite provenance for our text is (a) the formula in lines 6-7: a subjective homologia is, to the best of our knowledge, almost without parallel in Oxyrhynchite leases, but is found occasionally in leases from other nomes; see further the note to lines 3-4; and (b) the wording of the geometria-clause (lines 21-2) which corresponds more closely to leases from the Hermopolite nome. In favour of an Oxyrhynchite provenance is (a) the fact that the document was found at Oxyrhynchus, (b) the general run of the text which has most of the provisions expected in Oxyrhynchite leases even if not in the normal order (see the next paragraph), and (c) the ἀκίνδυνος clause (lines 32-4), the καρποί clause (lines 39-42), the ἄβροχος clause (lines 42-4), and the βεβαίωσις (lines 44-5), all of which are in forms typical of or unique to leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman period (see the notes). We must therefore conclude that there is a very strong probability that the lease relates to the Oxyrhynchite nome.

The first 26 lines of our document, although containing some oddities, at least make sense and conform more or less to the expected pattern. This is far from true of lines 27 ff. A 'standard' Oxyrhynchite lease, as typified by for example the contemporary VI 910, continues after the statement of the amount of rent due with the following clauses: (1) ἀκίνδυνος clause (2) statement that taxes are payable by the lessor (3) καρποί clause (4) ἄβροχος clause (5) βεβαίωσις (6) statement on date and place of payment (7) πράξις clause (8) condition in which the land is to be returned (very frequently omitted) (9) κυρία clause. In our document the order of these clauses is (6) (1) (7) (2) (3) (4) (5) (8) (9). Naturally the order of clauses can vary in Oxyrhynchite leases (this is particularly true of the ἄβροχος clause), but we know of no document which has the clauses in the same order as in our text. Particularly exceptional is the position at which the statement on the date of repayment occurs and the position of the πράξις clause. Dr. Rowlandson suggests that the departure from the normal sequence may be partly responsible for the mess the scribe gets into from line 39 onwards, as he tries to fit in clauses which should have been inserted earlier.

[c. 8] δῶρα <τ>ῆ καὶ Ci [c. 6

[διὰ] οδώρου τοῦ καὶ

[c. 6 ἐπ]ιτρόπου π[αρά Πανε-

χώτο[υ] Ἀγάθων[ος μητρὸς

5 [.] ηουτος ἀπὸ Ε. . . [καταγι(νομένου)

[ἐ]ν ἐποικίῳ Κο. ληου. Ὅμο[λογῶ

[μ]εμισθ(ῶσθαι) παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ χρόν[ον ἔ-

τη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος

η (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων [οἱ

10 περὶ κώμην Πιμπασί ἐ[κ τοῦ
X[.] . [.] . [.] μο κλήρ(ου) ἀρούρ[α]ς πέν-
τε ἡμι[ς] τὰς προγεωργου-
μένας ὑπὸ Πεκύσιος Εὐδαί(μονος)
τῷ μὲν η (ἔτει) χλωροῖς ξυλ(αμῆσαι) ἐκάσ-
15 τῆς ἀρούρης ἀνὰ δραχμὰς
εἴκοσι τέσσαρες καὶ τῷ
εἰσιόντι θ (ἔτει) εἰς <ς>πορὰν
πυροῦ ἐκάστης ἀρούρης
ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ
20 ἡμικυ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλ(ήρω)
ἀρούρας τέσσαρες τῆς ἐκ γεωμ(ετρίας)
φανησο(μένης) εἰς <ς>πορὰν πυροῦ
ἐκάστης ἀρούρης ἀνὰ πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας πέντε ἡμικυ καὶ
25 τῷ θ (ἔτει) χλωρικῶ ξυλ(αμῆσαι) ἐκάσ-
τῆς ἀρούρης ἀνὰ δραχμὰς
εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ συναγόμενον
ἀργυρικὸν φόρον καὶ ciτικ(ὸν)
[ἐ]κφορίου ἀποδώσω σοι
30 τὸν μὲν πυρὸν ἐν θέμα-
τω δημοσίῳ καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον
δόκιμον τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἀ-
κίνδυνα τὰ ἐκφόρ(ι)α παντὸς
κινδύνου τῆς πράξεως σοι οὐ-
35 σης ἐκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων,
τῶν δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος δη-
μοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν
γεοῦχον, ὧν ἐμισθώσατο
40 τοὺς καρποὺς ὅπως τὸ κα-

7 [μ]εμισθ^θ 9 ης 11 κληρ̄ 13 ευδαῖ 14 ης, ξυ^λ 16 l. τέσσαρας
17 l. εἰσιόντι; θς 20 κ^λ 21 l. τέσσαρας; γεω^μ, l. γεωμ(ετρίας) 22 φανησο̄ 25 θς, ξυ^λ
28 φόρον, on a correction; ciτικ^κ 29 l. ἐκφόριον 30-1 l. θέματι 31 αργυρ̄ 39-40 see
note 40 τό, l. τά

τ' ἔτο[ς δὲ] φειλόμενα κομίση-
 [ται· ἐὰν] δέ τις ἄβροχ(ος) γένηται
 [παραδε]χθήσεται τῷ μισθω-
 σαμένῳ· ἐκβεβαιωμένης
 45 [τῆς μισ]θωσαμένης ἀχυ-
 [c. 6] σπον· δ καὶ παραδώ-
 [σω τὴν] γῆν καθαρὰν ἀπό τε θρυ· ()·
 [κυρία ἢ] μίσθ(ωσις). ("Ἔτους) ἡ Αὐτοκρατόρων
 [Καίσαρων] Δουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεγήρο(υ)
 50 [Εὐσεβοῦ]ς Περτίνακο(ς) Ἀραβικοῦ[υ]
 [Ἀδια]βηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγ[ίστ(ου)]
 [c. 5] κβ. (m. 2) Πανεχώ(της) ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος) μ[εμισθ(ωμαι)]
 [ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)]. Παρείτις Κολλούθ(ου) ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπὲρ
 [αὐτοῦ] γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδότης.

42 ἀβροχ 44 ἰ. ἐκβεβαιωμένης; cf. note 47 see note 48 μισθ^θλη 49 σενη^ο
 52 πανεχ^ω, προγεγρ^ς 53 κολλου^θεγρ^ς 54 γρ^ς

'To ...dora also called Si... through ...odorus also called ... her manager from Panechotes son of Agathon, mother ...eous, from ... now resident in the hamlet of Κο... I agree that I have leased from you for a period of two years from the present 8th year out of your property near the village of Pimpasi from the allotment of Charidemos (?) five and a half arouras, which were previously farmed by Pecysis son of Eudaemon, in the 8th year to plant with green fodder, each aroura at a rent of twenty-four drachmas, and in the incoming 9th year to sow with wheat, each aroura at a rent of six and a half artabas of wheat, and in the same allotment four arouras from whatever (total of arouras) shall appear as a result of land-measurement to sow with wheat, each aroura at a rent of five and a half artabas of wheat, and in the 9th year to plant with green fodder, each aroura at a rent of twenty drachmas, and I will pay the total rent in money and rent in grain to you, the wheat in public deposit and the money in acceptable coinage in the month of Payni, the rent free from every risk, you having the right of action upon me and upon all my property, the yearly public dues upon the land being the responsibility of the landowner ... the crops until (?) she has recovered the amount owing yearly; if any part of the land be uninundated an allowance shall be made to the lessee; the lease (?) being confirmed ... and I shall return the land clear from rushes.'

'The lease is irrefutable.'

'Year 8 of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus ... 22.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Panechotes the aforementioned, have leased as aforesaid. I, Pareitis son of Colluthus, wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

1 [c. 8] δώρα <τ>ῆ καὶ Ci. The correction of the nominative to the dative is inescapable: (a) the lease is written from the point of view of the lessee; and (b) lessees are not normally women but lessors not infrequently are (see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 58), and we know this to be the case in the present text because of τὴν γεούχον in lines 38-9. By far the commonest name in the papyri which ends -dora is Isidora. Herrmann, loc. cit., remarks that women are relatively common among lessors with Roman names, and it could well be that our -dora is a Roman citizen (note that she has an ἐπίτροπος); indeed we might think of supplying [Κλαυδία Ἰσι]δώρα, which opens up the interesting possibility that the lessor was a relative of the well-known Claudia Isidora also called Apia, for whom see, e.g., *JJP* 18 (1974) 239-40. The second name of the woman in our text might be Sinthonis, a common name at Oxyrhynchus.

3-4 π[αρά Πανε]χώ[τ]υ. The reading is far from certain: there is barely room for the supplement in line 3 and the traces at the start of line 4 are unclear; the name of the lessee is also in some doubt, see line 52 n. Nevertheless this reading is preferable to Πανεχώτης in the nominative (which creates problems in line 4 and is a less usual formula) and we cannot retain the nominative in line 1 and read Πανεχώτης here for the reasons given in the preceding note.

The formula τῷ δεῖνι ... παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός does not become common in leases until the fourth century, but a few examples from second- and early third-century documents from Oxyrhynchus are quoted by H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Aegyptens* ii 118. However, the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός. ὁμολογῶ μεμισθῶσθαι is without parallel, to the best of our knowledge, in Oxyrhynchite documents. Subjective homologies are in fact extremely rare in leases from Oxyrhynchus and we know of only one parallel, XXXI 2584, a μισθοποχή with the formula ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ μεμισθῶσθαι σοι. As Wolff points out (op. cit. 114-15) τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός is associated with documents of the hypomnema type; at Oxyrhynchus such leases normally begin ἐκονείως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθῶσασθαι. For parallels to the formula in lines 1-7 of our text we must turn to leases from the Arsinoite nome, e.g. P. Grenf. I 54 (378), or the Hermopolite nome, e.g. BGU IV 1092 (372), which has the same formula except that it inserts the words ἐκονείως καὶ ἀθαιρέτως before μεμισθῶσθαι; cf. also P. L. Bat. II 8 + 9 (Hermopolite; 332), re-edited K. A. Worp, *BASP* 14 (1977) 95-7, which has the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνός. ὁμολογῶ ἐξελιγμένα παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς μίσθωσιν.

6 Κο, ληου. The initial letter could be beta and lambda could be tau; Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, does not suggest any suitable name (unless we have an alternative spelling of the place Κοτυλαίου, Pruneti, p. 90).

10 Πιμπασι. The village name is found only in P. Köln I 55. 2, where unfortunately the provenance is unknown. It may also occur in P. Köln II 100. 2, which is known to come from the Oxyrhynchite nome, but there only Πιμ. [survives; see the note to P. Köln 100. 2 and P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 151.

11 X[.]. [.] . [.] μο. Presumably the kleros name ended in -ου, but there is no sign of abbreviation in the papyrus. Pruneti's list of kleroi in the Oxyrhynchite nome, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244, does not contain any suitable name; however, the name Χαριδήμου is now attested for an Oxyrhynchite kleros in BGU XIII 2234 ii 14, and it is quite possible that we should read X[α]ρ[ε]ι[δ]ή[μ]ο<υ> here.

14 The omission of ὡστε at the beginning of this line is most unexpected and is perhaps yet one more scribal blunder (line 25 is similar). However, we have noted one other text where ὡστε is omitted at the same point, P. Wisc. I 7. 13.

15 ff. The rent charged, both in money and in kind, is rather high but within the known limits, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 26-8.

21-2 A reference to γεωμετρία is not uncommon in Oxyrhynchite leases. Such references often come at the point at which the amount of rent is being described, e.g. P. Merton I 17. 13-16, but can be used to refer to the size of the plot as here, e.g. XLV 3257 7-8, where the land leased is described as ἐκ γεωμετρίας[ς] ἀρούρας πέντε; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 164. We have found no real parallel, however, to the wording used in the present text (the only Oxyrhynchite lease we have noted which might be compared is P. Yale I 70. 8-10, where the lessee agrees to pay τὸ λοιπὸν (of the rent) ἐκ τῆς γεωμετρίας φανησόμενον ὀφείλεσθαι). The wording in our text is much more like that found in some Hermopolite leases, either with reference to the rent (e.g. BGU IV 1092. 14-15, P. Strass. I 10. 11-13) or with reference to the size of the plot, e.g. P. Strass. I 78. 7-9, which refers to the lease of 25 arouras τῆς φανησομένης ἐκ γεωμετρίας[ς] π[αρά το(ῦ)] τῆς οὐσίας ἐπισκέπτου. On the different wording in various nomes see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 164, and Kalén's note to P. Berl. Leihg. I 20. 4. It is not easy to see what the scribe intended by the words used in the present text, especially in the position at which they occur.

22 Before εἰς σποράν one expects τῷ μὲν ἡ (ἔτει), cf. line 14.

25 χλωρικῶ. The word is only dubiously attested, see *LSJ*. It seems unlikely that the writer has simply blundered, especially as he has used the normal word χλωροῖς in line 14.

27 ff. The wording of the payment clause and its position in the document (see introd.) is unusual.

30-1 ἐν θέματω (l. θέματι) δημοσίῳ. For the phrase see, e.g., BGU XI 2126 ii 13-14 = SB XIV 11403, PSI I 73. 16; and for the meaning see N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 167-9, cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 197-8.

32-4 The ἀκύνδνος clause is in one of the forms typical of leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome, e.g. XLIX 3489 19-20, SB X 10532. 15-16; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 143-5.

34-6 According to Herrmann (*Bodenpacht*, 150), the πράξις-clause is almost entirely confined to the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes in leases of the Roman period.

38 ff. The sudden switch from the subjective to the objective style is noteworthy; cf., e.g., XLV 3260.

39-42 The writer clearly intended at this point to include the clause specifying that the lessor should control the crops until paid his dues, a clause which is found only in documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman period (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 140-2, A. Kränzlein, *Akten XIII. Papyrologenkongresses* 215-24). In our text, however, it appears in a garbled and completely meaningless form; in particular the verb in the relative clause should be *κυριεύειν* and the conjunction following should be *ἕως* not *ὅπως*. What we should expect here is *ἤν καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμενα κομίσηται*, cf., e.g., I 101 22-4.

42-4 The form of the *ἄβροχος*-clause is normal for Oxyrhynchite leases (see e.g. I 101 24-6 and Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 161 n. 1), except that for *μισθωσαμένῳ* we expect *μεμισθωμένῳ*.

44-5 This attempt to introduce the *βεβαίωσις*-clause (again a clause which by this period is typical of Oxyrhynchite leases: Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 156) is hopelessly garbled. The standard wording in Oxyrhynchite documents is *βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως*, e.g. P. Merton I 17. 32-3; there might be room for *δέ* in the present text but *μισθωσαμένης* must be just a blunder. A more serious problem is posed by *ἐκβεβαιωμένης*; the correction to *ἐκβεβαιουμένης* is easy, but the compound verb would be new to the papyri (though it is attested elsewhere, see *LSJ*). If *εκ* were a miswriting of *κε* = *καί* we should have the same wording as in, e.g., L 3591 30-1. One hesitates to introduce a new word into the papyrological lexica on the strength of such a badly drafted document as the present one.

45 *αχυ*]. There is little doubt about the reading, which seems to imply a reference to chaff. A provision concerning chaff is occasionally introduced into leases, e.g. XXXVIII 2874 18, P. Merton I 17. 27, BGU IV 1092. 28-9, but there seems to be no room in the next line to introduce such a provision, even allowing for some abbreviation.

46]*σπον*. δ. If the mark before delta is to be interpreted as a drachma symbol, which is possible, we presumably have a reference to a *σπονδή* of 4 drachmas, even though there is no mark of abbreviation after *σπον*; for a *σπονδή* of this amount in Oxyrhynchite documents see, e.g., IV 730 13-15, P. Berl. Leihg. I 20. 9-11; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 116-17.

46-7 A clause referring to the state in which the land is to be returned is unusual in Oxyrhynchite leases but not unparalleled, cf. VI 910 39-41, *παραδῶναι τὴν γ[ῆν] ... τεθροκοπημένην καὶ κα[θ]αρὰν ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ δείσεως πάσης*, and IV 729 22, *καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τε θρύου καὶ βοτάνης καὶ δείσεως πάσης*. It is most probable that our scribe intended something similar to the phrase used in the second of these examples; it is much less likely that we should posit a new compound *ἀποτεθροκοπημένην*.

48-51 The scribe began correctly with *Αὐτοκρατόρων* but then forgot to add the titles of Caracalla at the end.

52 The name of the month is lost in the lacuna. Leases were usually drawn up at the beginning of the Egyptian year and the most likely month therefore is Thoth.

Πανεχώ(της). Both the omega and the chi preceding are probable readings, but it is not clear that the scribe intended to abbreviate the name. *Panechotes*, however, is a very common name and it is simplest to assume that this was the name intended; cf. also the note to lines 3-4.

3912. UNDERTAKING TO SERVE AS A SAILOR

17 2B.53/E(a) = A
17 2B.53/G(a)1 = B

6 × 34.4 cm
6.1 × 23.8 cm

19 February 266 (?)

The document is preserved in two copies. The text given is that of A, which is complete; B presents the same text as A as far as line 31. The backs of both papyri

are blank. For a similar document preserved in no less than three copies see XXXVI 2764. The whole of B is written in a rapid, sprawling cursive, which is not identical with any of the hands in A. However, the second hand of A is identical with the second hand of 3913 and the third hand of XXXI 2568; that is to say the same Apollonius is writing on behalf of illiterates in all three texts.

In the present text Aurelius Agathus swears an oath to the strategus to serve as a sailor on boats being sent to the Arsinoite nome to assist with the *διέρασις τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ* there, a job for which he will receive pay of 160 drachmas per month *παρὰ τῶν εὐσχημόνων τῶν ἐπὶ σκαφῶν*. On *διέρασις*, the transfer of grain by small boat to larger vessels, see further the note to lines 11-12. It was a minor but important part of the task of transporting grain from the Egyptian villages to the Nile and thence to Alexandria and beyond. Grain transport by water within Egypt has often been studied, most notably by Rostowzew, *Archiv* 3 (1906) 201-24, F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 121-31, and E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport* (1939) 22-45; cf. also J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 47 (1948) 179-200, and, for a recent succinct summary, A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* (1978) 5-7.

N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (1982), Table 4 on p. 121, gives a list of oaths sworn by persons undertaking liturgical office. A more wide-ranging list is to be found in E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 79-80 and ii 67-8, brought up to date by W. M. Brashear, BGU XIII p. 68, and J. Frösén, P. Oxy. Hels. 20 introd. It is not certain whether the sailor in our text is to be regarded as a liturgist or not. The fact that he was receiving wages does not prove that he was serving voluntarily; on the other hand the swearing of an oath and the provision of a guarantor do not prove that he was serving under compulsion. As Lewis points out, op. cit. 86 n. 17 (cf. *ZPE* 31 (1978) 141), certain oaths are sworn by non-liturgists, e.g. the oil-seller in XII 1455, a document very similar in format to 3912. Lewis, p. 39, has an entry for compulsory service s.v. *ναύτης*, where he refers to several fourth-century texts. It is clear that in the fourth century village communities were required by the government to provide sailors for ships needed for public service (see P. Thead. 16 = P. Sakaon 35 and P. Michaelid. 28), and that a similar obligation was laid on sections of the metropolis (see I 86 = W. Chr. 46 and XXXIV 2715); the communities were also required to provide for the maintenance of the sailors. In 3912 we seem to have an example of the same principle being applied in the third century. At any rate the *εὐσχημονες*, the well-to-do members of the community on whom see further lines 19-20 n., are required to provide for the maintenance of the sailor. Oertel, op. cit. 82-8, discusses at length the provision of workmen of various kinds including sailors; he knew of the practice only for the fourth century but suggested it may have begun in the third, as 3912 now confirms. Oertel's conclusion is that the provision was a liturgical obligation laid upon the well-to-do and upon communities, but that the men provided were practising their trade and were not serving under compulsion.

Αὐρηλίω Ἀρποκρατάμ-
 μωνι διαδεχο(μένω) στρ(ατηγίαν) Ὁξ(υρυγίτου).
 Αὐρήλιος Ἄγαθος Σιλβα-
 νού μητρὸς Σαραπιάδος
 5 ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως
 ναύτης ὀμνύω τὴν
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 τύχην ἐπιπλεύσειν ταῖς
 ἐπιστελλομέναις εἰς τὸν
 10 Ἄρσινοεῖτην σκάφαις
 πρ[ός] τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ δημο-
 σίου [πυ]ροῦ διέραςιν καὶ
 πᾶσαν τὴν ναυτικὴν ὑ-
 πηρ[ε]σίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ
 15 μὴ ἀπολειφθῆσεσθαι
 ἄχρις οὐ ἀπολυθῶ εἰς τὸ
 μηδεμίαν μέμψιν
 ἐπακολουθῆσαι, λαμβά-
 νων παρὰ τῶν εὐσχημό-
 20 νων τῶν ἐπὶ σκαφῶν
 κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον τὸ ὀ-
 ψώνιον ἐν δραχμαῖς
 ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἢ ἔνο-
 χος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρέ-
 25 σχον δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐγγυη-
 τὴν Αὐρήλιον Δίον
 Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Ἀρ-
 σινόης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
 λεως παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦ(ν)-
 30 τα. (vac.)
 (ἔτους) ιγ' Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Δι[κι]γγίου[υ]
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχο[ύς]
 35 Σεβαστοῦ Μεχεῖρ κῆ.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἄγαθος Σιλ[λ-
 [β]ανού ὀμοσα τὸν ὄρκον
 ὡ[ς] π[ρό]κειται. Αὐρήλιος
 Ἄπ[ολ]ώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
 40 ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐ[τ]οῦ μὴ ἰδό-
 τος γράμμα[τα].
 (m. 3) [Αὐ]ρ[ή]λιος Δί[ο]ς Πλου-
 τίων[ος] ἐγγυῶμαι
 [τ]ὸν Ἄ[γα]θον ὡς πρόκει-
 45 ται. (m. 4) Α[ὐ]ρ[ή]λι () Ὀννώφρ() Π. -
 . . . ουθου ἐγγυητοῦ
 [.] . . (vac.)

2 διαδεχο̄ στρσοξ̄ 13-14 ὑπηρ[ε]σίαν 14 ποιήσασθαι: so B, I. ποιήσεσθαι
 16 ἄχρις, c a correction 25-6 l. ἐγγυητήν 29 εὐδοκοῦ/τα 31 ιγ' 38 l. π[ρό]κειται
 40 l. εἰδόςτος 45 α[υ]ρ'οννωφρ̄

'To Aurelius Harpocratammon acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. I, Aurelius Agathus son of Silvanus, mother Sarapias, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, sailor, swear by the genius of Gallienus Caesar the lord that I will sail on the boats being sent to the Arsinoite for the lading there of the public grain and will perform all the duties of a sailor and will not withdraw until I am released so that no blame may result, taking from the well-to-do responsible for the boats each month my pay of one hundred and sixty drachmas, or may I be liable to the penalties of the oath. I have provided my own surety Aurelius Dius son of Plution, mother Arsinoe, from the same city, who is present and gives his consent.'

'Year 13 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Mecheir 25.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Agathus son of Silvanus, have sworn the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius, wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Dius son of Plution, guarantee Agathus as aforesaid.'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Onnophris son of Pathermouthes (?), guarantor ...'

1-2 Ἀρποκρατάμμωνι. The name is not in *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*, which do however record the similar name Ἀρποκράμμων. For names of this type see F. Dunand, 'Les noms théophores en -ammon', *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 134-46. She points out (p. 139) that the third century saw a marked increase in the formation of new names ending in -ammon. Dr W. J. Tait suggests that Ἀρποκρατάμμων would represent demotic *Hr-p3-hr-ꜥ* *Imn*. Prof. E. Lüdeckens has been kind enough to check the files of the *Demotisches Namenbuch* for this name but without success. He has also drawn our attention to P. Ballet's article 'Remarques sur Harpocrate "amonien": à propos d'une terre cuite tardive provenant d'Alexandrie' in *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 75-83.

In PSI VIII 940, which belongs after 5 August 266, Aurelius Dionysammon is attested as acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *The Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XV) 101. It would appear, therefore, that we have two different acting-strategi with similar names in the same Egyptian year. (Prof. Manfredi has confirmed that the reading *Διονυσάμμωνος* is correct in PSI 940. 2.)

8 ἐπιπλεύσειν. Despite the use of this verb, the text has nothing to do with the liturgical office of ἐπίπλοος (for which see J. Frösén, *Actos* 12 (1978) 5-17).

9-10 εἰς τὸν Ἄρσινοεῖτην. For harbours in the Arsinoite see Börner, op. cit. 26; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptium-*

culae i 214. For men from the Oxyrhynchite drafted into service in the Arsinoite in connection with the transport of grain see XVIII 2182 and P. Mich. inv. 974 = SB XIV 12168, published by H. C. Youtie in *ZPE* 28 (1978) 245-8 = *Scriptunculae Posteriores* i 433-6.

10 *καθάσαι*. The word can be used of cargo boats of various sizes (see Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 15-17, 48 n. 203). Here it must refer to boats with a shallow draught (see the next note), such as the *καθήη* of 500 artabas burthen in XLV 3250; contrast the *μελίζονος καθήης* of 3000 artabas burthen mentioned in P. Beatty Panop. 2. 81-2.

11-12 For the *διέρασις τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ* see Oertel, op. cit. 130, P. Berl. Frisk, pp. 28-30; cf. Börner, op. cit. 27-8, Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 40 n. 144, and XLV 3250 24 n. On the etymology of *διέρασις* see XXXI 2568 16 n. There is little doubt that here, as usually if not always in the papyri, it refers to the transfer of grain by means of lighters or tenders from the granaries out to the large cargo boats which were unable to get into the harbour.

15-16 *μη ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι ἄχρις οὗ ἀπολυθῶ*. Similarly the men providing donkeys in P. Mich. inv. 974 (see lines 9-10 n.) are to serve indefinitely until released; see also Youtie's note to line 20 of that text.

16-18 *εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμην ἐπακολουθήσαι*. The same wording in the oath sworn by comarchs in X 1255 19-20. For the various formulae used at this point see the examples cited in P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i 19 n.

18-23 Similarly in P. Ryl. II 88. 16-18 a man appointed to act as a guard in the metropolis swears to the village presbyters, who have appointed him, that he will serve *λαμβάνων παρ' ἑμῶν* pay for ten months of 180 drachmas.

19-20 *παρὰ τῶν εὐχρημόνων τῶν ἐπὶ σκαφῶν*. Cf. *οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (sc. donkeys) *τεταγμένοι εὐχρήμονες*, who are attested in XVIII 2182 22-3 (cf. lines 9-10 n. above). Despite various discussions, most notably in Oertel, op. cit. 152, P. L. Bat. I 5.5 n., and the introductions to P. Basel 2 (p. 13) and P. Petas 85, the precise meaning of the term *εὐχρήμονες* and their relationship to the village presbyters remains unclear. In three texts *εὐχρήμονες* are mentioned in connection with the transport of grain, but unfortunately all three texts are incomplete at the crucial passage so that the function of the *εὐχρήμονες* is uncertain: P. Lond. II 301 (p. 256) = M. Chr. 340. 1, P. Meyer 14. 4 (both with the corrections in *Berichtigungsliste III*) and P. L. Bat. I 5. 6; cf. the tables in Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 90-103. Note in particular P. Basel 2, where *εὐχρήμονες* have supplied camels and money for their fodder to *καμηλάται*, and P. Stras. 245, where the strategus writes to *τοῖς κατὰ κόμην ἐπὶ κτην[ῶν] καὶ εὐς[χ]ήμοσι καὶ πρεσβυτέροις* concerning beasts required for a visit by Caracalla.

24-45 The formulae here (presentation of a surety, date, signature of the person swearing the oath and of the surety) are almost identical with those found in a number of documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome, e.g. VI 972 and XII 1553.

25-6 *ἐγγυητήν*. Cf. N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 69-71.

31 (*ἔτους*) *γ'*. The year number is not quite certain. The imperial titles indicate that we are in that part of Gallienus' reign when he was sole emperor and before he had taken the title *Persicus Maximus*. This limits us to the years 9-13, see XLVI 3293 23-6 n. As iota is clear and it is equally clear that another figure followed, we must choose either year 11, 12 or 13. The second figure cannot be beta; gamma is not a clear reading, but it is preferable to alpha.

35 *Μεχέρ* $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon$. The month may seem odd, since one would expect the transport of grain to have been concentrated in the months immediately following the harvest (cf. the introductions to XVIII 2182 and XXXI 2568). However, P. Hibeh II 216, which refers to the *διέρασις τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ*, belongs in Tybi, as does P. Oxy. Hels. 20, in which a man is appointed *ἐπίπλοος*. These and the present text support the view that the movement of grain downstream to Alexandria took place throughout the year; cf. Börner, op. cit. 30, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* ii 870 f.

38-9 For this Apollonius see the introduction.

45-7 This addition, in a fourth hand, is unexpected and enigmatic. The reading of the first few letters is precarious, but $\alpha[v]p$ followed by a diagonal stroke of abbreviation seems better than to suppose this the beginning of a name ending *-ωνωφρις*. After phi we have what appears to be a rho with a stroke like a grave accent over it, which most probably indicates abbreviation; the alternative is to take this all as rho and to read the strokes following not as pi but as iota sigma. In either case we expect a patronymic to follow. Before *-ουθου* the easiest reading is $\epsilon\lambda$, but this suggests no obvious name. It is perhaps just possible to read $\Pi\alpha|\theta\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\omicron\upsilon$.

The text should be complete before this addition. It is true that some texts speak of more than one

surety (e.g. XXXVIII 2876, P. Col. II i recto 4 x, PSI VII 734), all of whom would be expected to sign, and that some texts indicate that the surety will be vouched for by a *γνωστήρ* (e.g. XLIII 3097 25-8, cf. IX 1196 20); but neither of these solutions seems likely to solve the problem here. The only possible parallel we have noted is XII 1455 34-5 where, after the signature of the surety, the editors read (in a different hand) *Αὐρή[λιος] Τ[]* c. 13 letters *σε[]σημ[είωμαι (?)*.

3913. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RETURN OF BOAT

17 2B.53/G(a)2

6.8 x 16.3 cm

c. 265

All that remains is a small fragment from the end of a document in which the return of a small boat is acknowledged. The text is a parallel to XXXI 2568; in the part which remains the only difference is the name of the man making the acknowledgement. Furthermore, the Apollonius who writes for an illiterate in lines 5-12 of the present text is the same Apollonius as the man who performs the same function in 2568 (the third hand there is identical with the second hand here) and it is quite possible that the second hand in 2568 is the same as the first hand in the present text. For commentary in general see 2568.

3913 is also closely related to 3912. (1) The hand responsible for 3912B is very similar to the first hand of 3913 and may well be the work of the same writer. (2) The second hand of 3913 is quite certainly the same as the second hand of 3912A; therefore we have a third text (cf. above) in which this Apollonius writes for an illiterate. (3) The year date is lost in 3913, but cannot be far distant from the date of 3912. As we have seen, the same Apollonius is found in both these texts and in 2568. 2568 belongs in AD 264; 3912 probably belongs in AD 266, though the year is not certain and here too AD 264 is not impossible (see line 31 n.). At any rate it is clear that the imperial titles in 3913 must refer to Gallienus and to that part of his reign when he was sole emperor and had not yet taken the title *Persicus Maximus*; this limits us to the years AD 262-266 (see XLVI 3293 23-6 n.). (4) 2568 and 3912 both concern nautical work in connection with the *διέρασις δημοσίου πυροῦ*; it is very likely that 3913 was also concerned with work of this kind.

The back is blank.

[. . .] c. 15 letters

Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίς[του

Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχο[ύς

Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ[. . .]

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Πα. ρ. [. . .]

Εὐτύχου π[αρείληφα

τὸν πάκτω[να σὺν ταῖς
κώπαις καὶ [ἐπερωτ]η-
θεὶς ὡμολόγη[ε]α. Αὐρ[ή]λιος[ε]
10 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνί-
ου ἔγραψα ὑπέ[ρ α]ὐτο[ῦ μ]ῆ
εἰδότης γράμμ[α]τα.

'... Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph ...'
(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Pa... son of Eutyches, have received the boat with the oars, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius, wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

4 'Επειφ. 2568 was also written in Epeiph. 7 πάκτω[να]. For this small boat see 2568 14 n.; add now A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* (1978) 48 nn. 204-6.

3914. RECEIPT FOR WAGES

9 1B.181/C(b)

14.5 × 32.5 cm

14 June 519

The papyrus has several large holes but is otherwise complete. The body of the document (1-20) is written in a large, elegant semi-cursive (very similar to the hand responsible for P. Merton II 98); the subscription (21-25) is much more cursive. There is one noteworthy physical feature: in line 1 there is a gap of two centimetres between the phi and lambda of Φλ(αουίου) and a similar, but diminishing, gap is found in every line down to line 15; it is clear that the papyrus had a crease in it when it was written and that the writer simply wrote over this crease (seen most clearly in line 8 where the mu of κτημάτων now has a gap in the middle of 0.5 cm).

The document is a receipt given by Aurelius Isak, a foreman in charge of two ἐποίκια, to the steward of these ἐποίκια for his wages for the current indiction, amounting to two gold solidi. Whether the document relates to the Apion estate is uncertain, since there is no proof that either of the ἐποίκια mentioned formed part of that estate (cf. line 6 n.). Such receipts for wages are not uncommon in late Byzantine papyri from Oxyrhynchus, cf., e.g., XVI 1992, 2006, XXXVI 2780. The formula in our text is, to the best of our knowledge, without an exact parallel, but the basic pattern is not substantially different from that of XXXVI 2780.

† Ὑπατεία τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίου) Ἰου[ε]τίνου
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγοῦ[ε]στοῦ τὸ α'' Παῦνι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιβ.
Αὐρήλιος Ἰσακ υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς
Εἰρήνης καταμένων ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
5 Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλε[ι] ὀρκοδιόκτης ἐποικ[ι]ων

Νεοφύτο[υ] καὶ Ἄνουσίας Αὐρηλίω Μηνᾶ [υ]ίῳ
(vac.) ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεω[ε]
προνοητῆ τῶν εἰρημένων κτημάτων[υ]
χαίρειν. Ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι παρὰ σοῦ
10 καὶ πεπληρώσθαι τοὺς μισθοὺς τοὺς
ἡμετέρους ὑπὲρ ἧς ποιούμαι χρείας τοῦ
ἐργοδιόκτου εἰς τα[...]. δύο νομισ[μάτια]
καὶ ἐπὶ [τ]ῆ[ε] παρούσης δω[δεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος)]
το[υτέστιν χρυσοῦ νομισ]μάτια δύο γί[νεται] χρ(υσοῦ) [νο(μισμάτια)] β
15 καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς γεναμένης εἰς ἐμὲ
παρὰ σοῦ καταβολῆς τῶν αὐτῶν
δύο νομισμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν μισθῶ[υ]
τῆς αὐτῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
ταύτην π[εποιή]μαι τὴν ἀποχὴν, ἣτις
20 κυρία οὖσα [ἀπλή] γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς [ὡ]μολ(όγησα).
(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσακ υἱὸς Φοιβ[άμμωνος] ὁ προγεγραμμέν[ο]ς
ἔσχον καὶ ἐπληρ[ώθη]ν τοὺς ἡμετέρους μισθοὺς τῶν δύο
νομισμάτων τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ συμφωνῶ μοι πάντα
ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σεργῆος Ἀπφοῦτος ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
25 ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος. (vac.)
(m. 3) ✕ Δι' ἐμοῦ [...]. νεῖλου συμβολαιο[γ]ράφ(ου)
ἐ...[c. 5]... lu. u. b. l. [...]. ul...
(vac.) .. xii ... [...].

Back

(m. 1?) † Ἀποχ(ή) Ἰσακ [υ]ιοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος ὀρκοδι[ό]κ[του] ἀπὸ τῆς
Ὀξυρυ... [...].

1 ὑπατεία, φλξίου[ε]τινου 2 ἰνδ/ 3 ἰσακνίος 4 καταμένων, second a corrected from ε
5 ὀρκοδιόκτης, ρ corrected from γ; 1. ἐργοδιόκτης 6 [υ]ίῳ 12 1. ἐργοδιόκτου 13 ἰνδ/
14 γι/χρ/[16 παρὰ, π corrected from κ 18 ἰνδικτίονος 19 π[εποιή]μαι, π corrected
20 γραφ/, [ω]μολ- 21 ἰσακ 22 μισθούς, ο corrected from ω 23 ἰνδικ/, ω written over
επ?; 1. συμφωνεῖ 24 προκ/αυρς 26 συμβολαιο[γ]ραφ/ 29 ἀποχ[ί]σακ[υ]ίου; 1. ἐργοδιόκτου

'In the consulship of our lord Flavius Justinus the eternal Augustus for the 1st time, Payni 20, indiction 12.'

'Aurelius Isak son of Phoebammon, mother Irene, living here in the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, foreman for the hamlets of Neophytu and Anusias to Aurelius Menas son of (vac.) from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, steward of the said holdings, greetings.'

'I acknowledge that I have received from you and have been paid in full our wages for the work of foreman which I perform, ... two solidi for the present twelfth indiction also, that is to say two gold solidi, total 2 gold solidi, and as proof of the payment made to me by you of the same two solidi for my wages for the same twelfth indiction I have produced this receipt, which is irrefutable written in a single copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Isak son of Phoebammon the aforementioned, received and was paid in full our wages of the two solidi for the twelfth indiction and I am in agreement with everything as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus son of Apphous, at his request wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'It was drawn up by me Satorneilus(?), contract-writer [Latin].'

(Back, 1st hand?) 'Receipt of Isak son of Phoebammon foreman from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

1-2 There are two possible years for the first consulship of a Flavius Justinus who was also an emperor, but of these only AD 519 corresponds with a twelfth indiction. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 122, quote only P. Stras. 133 for the occurrence of this consulship in papyri, noting that the reading there (suggested in P. Stras. IV, p. 184) is very uncertain. It is unusual but not unparalleled to have the first consulship of an emperor indicated by τὸ α: cf. the examples cited by Bagnall and Worp for Theodosius (AD 380) and Leo (AD 458). See now also R. S. Bagnall et alii, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 573, where they quote inscriptional evidence for the use in the year 519 of the numeral I in the consular dating.

3 Ἰσάκ. There is a downstroke after the kappa which suggests that the name should be read Ἰσάκι; in line 21 however the name is clearly spelt Ἰσάκ.

4-5 The formula is slightly unusual but we may compare P. Wisc. I 10. 5-6 (468), where a man from the Upper Theodosiopolite nome is described as καταμένοντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλει.

5 ὀροδιώκτης. Although the second letter is corrected there is no doubt about the reading. In line 12 the writer uses the form ἐργοδιώκτου, while on the back we have ὀροδι[ό]κ[του]. It is certain that the post of ἐργοδιώκτης was meant. The changes from gamma to kappa and omega to omicron are quite normal, but that from epsilon to omicron is much more surprising; most of the examples quoted in F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 290-1 are not close parallels; cf. however his references to ὀβδομήκοντα for ἐβδομήκοντα. The translation 'foreman' is suggested in E. R. Hardy, *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt* 110. The job is mentioned in other contemporary papyri from Oxyrhynchus, e.g. XVI 1911 82-4, 1912 130, XVIII 2195 128, 2197 176, 188, 206, 212, XIX 2243(a) 83, LV 3804 155-6, 3805 113. It is noteworthy that all these papyri belong either certainly or probably to the Apion archive.

6 Νεοφύτο[υ] καὶ Ἀνουσίας. Νεοφύτος is attested as the name of either an ἐποίκιον, a κτήμα (cf. line 8) or a χωρίον in several texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome, none of which can be further localised; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 116. On the other hand Ἀνουσίας appears to be new.

7 The first part of this line was left blank for the name of Menas' father to be added.

9 ff. The usual formula in such receipts is for the infinitive(s) to be followed by ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ or ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ἐμοῦ μισθοῦ (e.g. XXXVI 2780 18), a reference to the indiction, and the amount of pay in the accusative. We have not noted an example where, as here, the infinitives are followed by τοὺς μισθοὺς as the direct object. The pattern however is the same as that in XVI 1898 21-5 quoted in line 14 n.

11 ἡμετέρου. So in the subscription (line 22); elsewhere the writer uses the first person singular.

12 εἰς τὰ[...]. δύο νομισμάτια. The trace after the lacuna suits alpha and νομισ can hardly be anything other than νομισ[μάτια] (probably abbreviated), which suggests that the whole expression is stating that the recipient acknowledges pay 'amounting to two solidi'; for this type of expression cf., e.g., P. Mich. XIII 662. 63-4, where in a 7th-century sale of a house the seller acknowledges receipt of τὴν προκ(ειμένην) τιμίαν (l. τελείαν) τιμὴν εἰς χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δόμιρον (l. δέμοιρον). The word to be supplied in the lacuna ought in that case to be an adjective meaning something like 'usual'; but both [καθήκοντ]α and [σταθέντ]α would seem to be too long. As an alternative it is tempting to read εἰς τὰ [ἐποίκι]α δύο, which would accord very well with το[υτέστιν] in line 14, see below. If this is right, the writer may have been wanting to say that the wages for his work as a foreman in respect of the two hamlets are fixed at 2 solidi and that he has had his wages for this year, i.e. 2 solidi, supplying νομισ[μάτια] δύο at the end of line 12; but the grammar would still be odd.

14 το[υτέστιν]. The supplement seems inevitable and is particularly attractive if we read εἰς τὰ [ἐποίκι]α δύο in line 12, see above. το[υτέστιν] is regularly preceded by a general term for the payment received and

followed by a note of the exact amount; cf., e.g., XVI 1898 21-5 (587), a receipt which states ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι καὶ πεπληρώσθ(αι) ... τὴν ἀγίαν προσφοράν τῆς κὴν θ(εῶ) ἕκτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως) το[υτέστιν] αἰτου καγκάλλω (l. καγκάλλω) ἀρτάβ(α)ς τριακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα μίαν. The unusual feature of our text is that the amount of 2 solidi seems to have been mentioned already in line 12, see the preceding note.

15 ff. Again we have phraseology to which we can quote no exact parallel, although the meaning is clear and the words used are all common enough in contemporary documents (in which however ἀπόδειξις more usually means 'receipt'). Here we have a conflation of expressions used in documents like XVI 1898 28-30, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, and XLI 2995 4-5, καὶ πρὸς ἀφάλειαν αὐτῆς πεποιήμαι τὴν ἀποχῆν.

20 [ἀπλή]. Also possible is [διεσῆ].

22 δύο. Perhaps a better reading is δὲψο.

26-28 Notarial subscriptions have recently been analysed in detail in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (henceforth cited as DW); for Oxyrhynchus see pp. 77-89. It is clear that the present example is bilingual with the Greek entry preceding the Latin, as was normal in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It is equally clear that it does not follow exactly any of the parallels to be found in DW. Bilingual examples from Oxyrhynchus are XVI 1983 (DW 8. 1. 1), I 136 (DW 16. 2. 4), 138 (DW 16. 2. 12), XX 2270 (DW 21. 3. 1), XXXIV 2718 (DW 25. 9. 1) and SB VI 8987 (DW 3. 1. 1); in addition a few texts have the subscription in Latin followed by a date in Greek. The best parallel to our text is probably I 138 48: δι' ἐμοῦ Παπνουθίου συμβολαιογράφου ἐτελειώθη—di emu Papnuthiu eteliōth, followed by ἰ(ν)δ(ι)κ(τίωνος) ἰδ (ἔτους) κςς. In line 26 of the present text we must have the name of the notary between δι' ἐμοῦ and συμβολαιογράφου. Νείλου could be taken as a patronymic but, although notaries occasionally give a patronymic in other nomes, notably the Hermopolite (see the examples in DW), there is no example of the use of a patronymic in an Oxyrhynchite text. It is better therefore to look for a name ending -νεῖλου; by far the most likely name is [Cατο]ρνεῖλου, even though rho is not an easy reading. If so, we need di emu Satorneilu or Satornilu in the next line; lu is clear, but it takes considerable imagination to interpret the letters preceding this as S]atornei or S]atornei. (It has often been remarked that notaries tend to make these Latin subscriptions deliberately illegible, cf., e.g., J. G. Keenan in his note to line 30 of XVI 1962, published in full in ZPE 34 (1979) 133-8 = SB XVI 12583; but this does not seem to have been the case in the present text.) If S]atorneilu or S]atorneilu is right, di emu will have stood in the lacuna preceding, and a verb in Greek at the start of the line; the usual verb in Oxyrhynchite texts is ἐτελειώθη, which in the present text must have been abbreviated. After lu most probably we have to look for symbolaografu, perhaps abbreviated; this is found in some Latin subscriptions from Oxyrhynchus and in one bilingual text, I 136 (DW 16. 2. 4). Very tentatively we might read in line 27: ἐτελ[ε] (ειώθη) di emu S]atorneilu symbola[og]rafu (though the initial s of symbolaografu would be particularly weird). But this would leave a problem at the end of the line. Here we expect eteliōthe, vel sim.; it may be possible to read the end of the line λιθ[η], but ete before this is very difficult. This still leaves the problem of line 28. The Roman numeral xii looks plain; if correct it must be the number of the indiction, with the marks before it, which look like an S on its side, intended to indicate an abbreviated form of indictionis. What follows is illegible. DW do not include any examples with Roman numerals, but the present text suggests that they may have been wrong to reject the original editors' readings in XVI 1961 29 (DW 18. 2. 1) and 1891 26 (DW 25. 11. 2), which did include Roman numerals; see also the note to 1891 26 and Keenan's note to 1962 30 in ZPE 34, 137.

29 The reading of the traces at the end is very uncertain; perhaps best is Ὀξυρρυχιτ(ῶν) π[ό]λι[ε]ω[ς].

INDEXES

An asterisk shows that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Supplement. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. For the documents the article and *καί* are not indexed. In Index I, which covers **3876** only, references begin with the fragment number and are followed by the line number; where small roman numerals intervene, these refer to columns.

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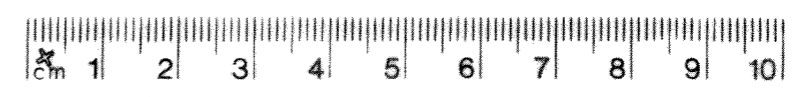
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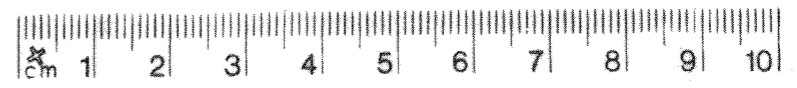


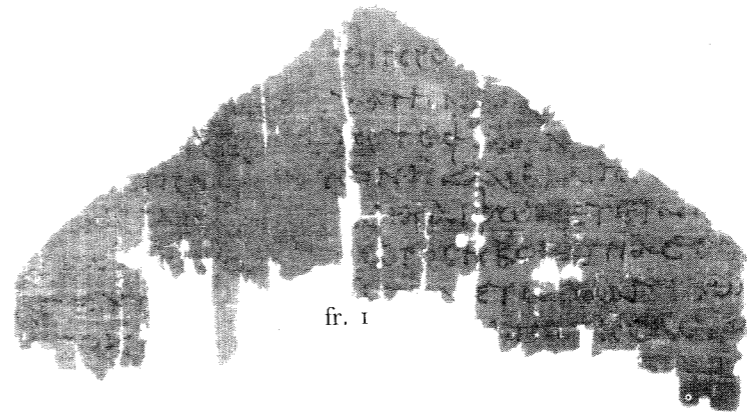
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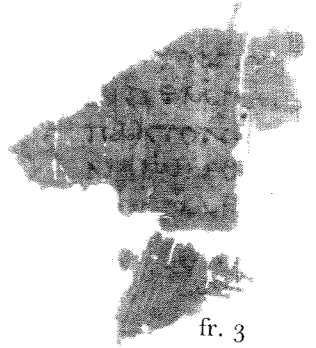


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